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# Woccleve's Works



Transfer to new edn., # 253, Rev. Mitchell and  
DOYLE

Hoccleve Minor Poems  
ref.: line, unless otherwise noted.

~~?all30(?cl422) Hoccl. ASM (Dur-U) pp.178-215.~~

Vrr. in ftnts.

MS A = ~~?all30 Hoccl. ASM (Hnt)~~

~~?all30(?all30) Hoccl. BV(1) (Hnt) pp.43-7.~~

~~?all30(?all410) Hoccl. Chancellor (Hnt) p.58.~~

al605(cl422) Hoccl. Compl. (Dur-U) pp.95-110.

Use other Hoccleve material in preference  
to this if possible. The only MS ed. in full  
(Dur-U) is a Stow copy, modernized.

If necessary to quote, give vrr. from MS  
Seld (in ftnts.) if possible: all450 (Seld)

~~cl450 Hoccl. Cupid (Prf) pp.72-91.~~

Non-pref. MS. Pref. MS is edited  
in Part 2, pp.20-34.

Vrr. in ftnts.:

B= cl475 (Bod)

D= cl450 (Dgb)

[S= cl500 (Seld) -Do not use vrr. from  
this MS which is SCOTS and LATE.]

[Sp= Speght's edition of 1602. -Do not  
use vrr. from this printed edition.]

T= all450 (Tan)

Further vrr. on pp.249-253 from:

Sh= all456 (Trin-C)

[A = Pref. MS Hnt. See Part 2, pp.20-34.]

al605(cl422) Hoccl. Dial. (Dur-U) pp.110-119, as  
marked. Pref. MS for lines 1-252. But since it is a  
Stow copy with considerable modernization, other  
Hoccleve material should be used in preference.  
Vrr. from MS Seld should be used whenever possible  
with the stencil: all450 Hoccl. Dial. (Seld:Furnivall)

← TRANSFER

95968 18/1

TRANSFER

?all30(c1422) Hoccl.Dial, (Dur-U) pp.119-139, as  
Pref.MS for lines 253-826. marked.

Vrr. for lines 498-826 from MS Seld  
(dated all50) may be added from shelf  
no. 234, pp.69-74.

TRANSFER TO #253,  
NEW ED. EDD.  
MITCHELL & FOYLE.

?all30(1413) Hoccl.Hen.V Acces. (Hnt) pp.39-40.

?all30(a1422) Hoccl.Hen.V & KG (Hnt) pp.41-43.

?all30(?c1415) Hoccl.Hen.V Money (Hnt) p.62.

TRANSFER

?all30(?c1425) Hoccl.Jonathas (Dur-U) pp.215-242.

ref.: line for verse, 'p' plus page  
no. for prose.

CHECK NEW EDN.

Vrr. in ftnts.:

R. or Reg. = ?1425 Hoccl.Jonathas (Roy)

?all30(c1422) Hoccl.Jwife (Dur-U) pp.140-178.

ref.: line for verse, 'p' plus page  
no. for prose.

Vrr. on pp.255-258 (=MS R):

?c1425 Hoccl.Jwife (Roy)

← check new edn.

?a1430(?a1430) Hoccl. MG (Hnt)

TRANSFER

Part 1,  
SEE pp. 52-56.

ABOVE

?a1430(1415) Hoccl. MG (Hnt)

(For lines 1-28 on pp.140-141, 174 use page/line, i.e. 140/17)

~~?a1430 (1413) Hoccl. Rich. II (Hnt) TRANSFER~~ Part 1,  
pp. 47-49.

~~?a1430 Hoccl. R. Envoy (Hnt) TRANSFER~~ Part 1,  
Non-pref. MS. .... pp. 61.  
Pref. MS (dated ?a1425) is edited in  
Part 7, pp. 196-197, as marked.

~~?a1430 (?1410) Hoccl. Somer<sup>...</sup> (Hnt) TRANSFER~~ Part 1,  
pp. 64-66.

~~.....  
?a1430 (?a1430) Hoccl. Virg. 3 Chr. (Hnt) TRANSFER~~ Part 1,  
pp. 67-72.

~~.....  
?a1430 (a1415) Hoccl. York<sup>...</sup> (Hnt) TRANSFER~~ Part 1,  
pp. 49-41.

[Transfer poems on the following  
pages as direct in the book:  
Part 1, 25-39, 56-57, 59-60,  
63-64.]

# Doyle's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS.

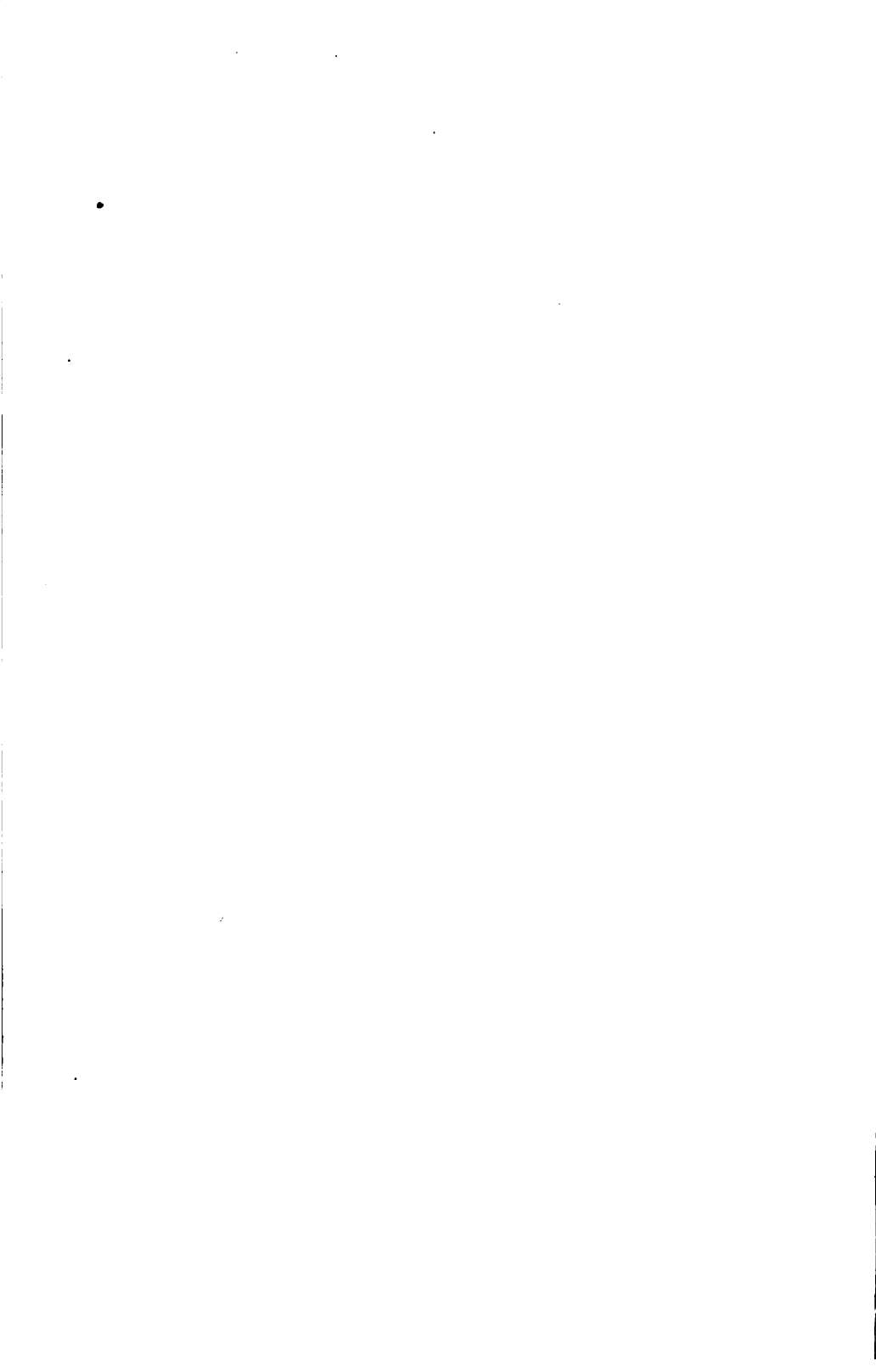
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Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. LXI.

1892.

*(Reprinted 1937)*



# Goccleve's Works.

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## I. THE MINOR POEMS

IN THE PHILLIPPS MS. 8151 (CHELTENHAM)  
AND THE DURHAM MS. III. 9.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

By HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,

AMEN HOUSE, E.C.4.

1892.

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**Geena Rochfort Smith,**  
MY MUCH-RESPECTED AND DEEPLY-REGRETTEED GIRL-FRIEND  
THE LOVER OF SHAKSPERE AND BROWNING.

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The List of Hocceleve's Minor Poems in the Ashburnham MS. 133 is at p. xxvii of the Forewords. Hocceleve's only other work is his *Regement of Princes*.

## HOCCLEVE'S RHYMES AND CHAUCER'S VIRELAYS.

[Reprinted from *The Athenæum*, March 4, 1893, p. 281.]

CHAUCER tells us that he wrote "virelayes"; see 'Legend of Good Women,' 423. Unfortunately, they are all lost but two, and these two do not seem to have been noticed.

There is a so-called 'Virelay' in Moxon's edition, p. 439; but it was first attributed to Chaucer by Stowe in 1561, and is of quite late date; see my edition of the 'Minor Poems,' p. xxxi. I shall only observe here that it is not a true virelay; for the rhymes do not recur as they should.

The sole existing specimens both occur in 'Anelida,' lines 256-271 and 317-332. The arrangement of rhymes is as follows: *aaabaaab*, followed by *bbabbba*. The repetition of the same rhymes in a different order is the essential point in a virelay.

In Dr. Furnivall's excellent new edition of Hoccleve I find some more examples, though they are not noted as being such. I wish to draw attention to them, as they are of high interest.

Take, for example, Balade IV., at p. 39. The editor says, "in five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc*." This is true as far as it goes, but does not convey any adequate idea of the extreme intricacy of the metre. The description given only applies to the first stanza. But *all the other stanzas* actually employ the very same rhymes, but in a veering order. In the whole poem of forty lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in *-al*, in *-ee*, and in *-ay*. And this is the order of them.

First stanza: *abab, bcbc*.

Second stanza: *cbcb, baba*.

Third stanza: *abab, bcbc*. (Same as the first.)

Fourth stanza: *cbcb, baba*. (Same as the second.)

Fifth stanza: *acac, cbcb*.

There are here three variations in the order.

Balade V. (p. 41) is another specimen of intricate rhyming.

The formula is as follows for the four stanzas: (1) *abab, bcbc*, (2) the same, (3) the same, (4) the same. In the thirty-two lines there are but three rhymes.

Balade VI. (p. 42) is precisely like it. However, neither of these is a virelay; there is no veer.

Balade VIII. (p. 47) furnishes us with a still more intricate specimen. The first five stanzas arrange the rhymes as in Balade IV. above. But there is a new arrangement in stanza 6, viz. *bcbc, caca*. Hence there are here four variations instead of three. In forty-eight lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in *-es, -oun*, and *-eye*. A knowledge of this is important phonetically; for a rhyme in *-ey* (instead of the feminine *-eye*) would be inadmissible.

Balade IX. is interesting as reproducing the metre in 'Anelida,' 220-255, 281-316; so we know whence the form of it came.

Balade XII. is an excellent specimen of a virelay. In the three stanzas we get the three varieties, as in Balade IV., stanzas 1, 2, and 5. The three rhymes are *-ent, -esse, -ee*.

Balade XIII. begins with an excellent virelay. The first three stanzas are, in form, precisely like Balade XII.; but all the rhymes are feminine. The rhyme-endings are *-esse, -inge, -aille*. Stanza 4 is, metrically, rather a drop, as it introduces new rhymes. But the roundel that succeeds is good.

Balade XIV. is a virelay. The first and third stanzas end alike, viz. in *abab, bcbc*. The second stanza has *cbcb, baba*.

Balade XV. is a virelay, precisely like Balade XII.

Hence Hoccleve actually presents us with true virelays in Balades XII., XV., and three stanzas of XIII., with three variations. Balade IV. is another, but the third and fourth stanzas are additional, and merely repeat the rhymes of the first and second. Balade VIII. introduces yet a fourth variation. Balade XIV. has but two variations.

We can all guess whence Hoccleve learnt his metres. It seems to me a most interesting fact that, though we have not got many of Chaucer's eight-line virelays, we now know precisely how they all went.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

“MAGGE, THE GOOD[E] KOW.”—p. 217.

[Reprinted from *The Academy*, April 1, 1893, pp. 285-6.]

“THE COW IS WOOD” IN CHAUCER.

Cambridge: March 19, 1893.

In the New English Dictionary, s.v. *chough*, we learn that *cow* here means “chough”; viz., in the “Wife of Bath’s Prologue,” l. 232. I once further explained (in the *ACADEMY*, April 5, 1890) that the allusion is to a story of “The Tell-tale Bird” kind, so well discussed by Mr. Clouston in *Originals and Analogues*, p. 437 (Chaucer Society).

In Dr. Furnivall’s new edition of *Hoccleve* there is a capital example of a similar usage; and (with Dr. Furnivall’s kind permission) I beg leave to call attention to it, because it seems to have escaped notice. I must quote the whole of two stanzas on p. 217:

“Frend, looth me were ‘nay’ seye vnto yow,  
But y suppose, it may noon othir be;  
Lest wommen vnto Magge, the good[e] kow,  
Me likne, and thus seye—‘O, beholde and see  
The double man! O, yondir, lo, gooth he  
That hony first yaf, and now yeueth galle;  
He fo in herte is vnto wommen alle;

“Til he of wommen oute wordes wikke,  
He fastynge is, him seemeth; al the day  
Out of his mowth lesynges swarmen thikke;  
On wommen no good word affoorthe he may;  
And if he wel speke or wryte, is no nay,  
He nat meneth as he spekith or writ:  
O lewde dotepol! straw for his wit!”

In the last line but one the printed text has *meueth*, i.e., “moveth.” I read it as *meneth*, i.e., “meaneth.” The verb *oute* means “utter.” I would further suggest that the MS. reading,

*the good cow*, is a scribal error for *the woode cow*, i.e., "the mad jack-daw." The scribe evidently missed the point, and avoided writing what (to him) seemed to be nonsense.

I now give a sufficient paraphrase :

"My friend, it would grieve me to refuse you, but I suppose I cannot do otherwise (than translate, as you ask me to do, a tale about an evil woman). I fear lest women should liken me to Mag, the mad jack-daw, and say—'Behold the double-minded man! See yonder, there goes he who formerly gave men honey, and now gives them gall; he is a foe, at heart, to all womankind. He seems to himself to be fasting, till he utters wicked words about women. Lies swarm thickly out of his mouth. He cannot afford women one good word; and if ever he speaks or writes well of us, it cannot be denied that he does not mean what he speaks or writes. Ignorant blockhead! A straw for his wit!'"

Not only have we here a new allusion to the evil words which jack-daws speak of women, but we have what I suppose to be by far the earliest example of the name *Mag* (Margaret) as applied to a chattering bird. Shakspeare has "magot-pie," and modern English has "magpie." It would be interesting to learn if some other MS. can be found in which the original word *woode* (or *wode*) is retained.

WALTER W. SKRAT.

I don't know of another copy of this Link between Hoccleve's two stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*.—F. J. F.

## FOREWORDS.

- § 1. Hoccleve's Life and dated Poems, p. vii. (The Ashburnham MS, p. xxvii).  
 § 2. His Love of Chaucer, p. xxx.  
 § 5. Text-copying, and Thanks to Helpers, p. xlv.
- § 3. His Patrons, Associates and Character, p. xxxiv.  
 § 4. Comments on some of his Poems, Metre and Language, p. xxxix.

HOCCLEVE must have got his name, says Mr. Kirk, from the pleasant village of Hockliffe in Bedfordshire,<sup>1</sup> on the Roman road, Watling St.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles S. of Woburn, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  E. of Leighton Buzzard.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Mr. Overend's suggestion, Mr. Kirk searched the Subsidy Rolls. Those for Hoccleve's father's time seem to be lost, but earlier ones mention a Richard de Hoclyve, who may (or may not) have been the poet's grandfather.

Lay Subsidy Roll, Bedford, ††.

† 8 Edw. II (July, 1309-10), Roll of a 25th granted to the King.  
 Hundred of Manshead. Hokkelyve. (28 names.)  
 Of Richard de Hokkelyve, 4s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.  
 Of the Master of Hokkelyve, 6s. 5d.  
 Sum of the whole township, 73s.

††.

† 8 Edw. II (July, 1314-15), Roll of a 20th and 15th granted to the King.  
 Township of Hoclyve.  
 Of the Hospital of Hoclyve, 6s. 6d.  
 Of Richard de Hoclyve, 5s. 6d.  
 38 names.  
 Sum of this township, 4l. 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

††.

[10 Edw. II, July, 1316-17], Roll of a 16th granted to the King.  
 Township of Hoclyve.  
 Of the Master of the Hospital, 9s.  
 Of Richard de Hoclyve, 6s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.  
 30 names.  
 Sum of the township, 4l. 1s. 10d.

††.

6 Edw. III (no month), a 15th and a 10th. "Hoclyve."  
 Only 15 names. The Master of the Hospital is mentioned, but no surname of Hoclyve. Sum 26s. 6d.

On "Oocleve or Hocclyf," Bedfordshire, Tanner says, *Vet. Mon.*, B 2, back), "Here was an hospital of a master and several brethren, as ancient as King John's Reign. It was dedicated to St. John Baptist." See too Dugdale, VI. ii. 753.

† No month given.

Mr. Stevenson suggests that Hoccleve must have been a West-countryman, as Cleves prevail in the West. We Thames folk know Cleve Lock and Mill



The chief authorities for the life of Hoccleve are his *Male Regle* in the Phillipps MS, his Dialog with the old Beggar in his *Regement of Princes*, his *Complaint* and Dialog with a friend in the Durham MS, and the entries about him in the Privy-Council Proceedings and the Patent and Pells-Issue Rolls.

In his *Dialog* (A.D. 1421-2), p. 125-6 below, Hoccleve speaks of Henry V's victories in France, and of Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, being Lieutenant of the Kingdom (125/533) while Henry was in France. This was from 10 June, 1421, to 31 August, 1422, when the King died at Vincennes. In the same poem Hoccleve says, "Of age am I fifty winter and thra." He must therefore have been born in 1368-9. The date of his englishing of *De Regimine Principum* is 1411-12; and in that poem he says, that he had been then

---

above Streatley and Goring; and if this Cleve could be added to the Berkshire river Ock which joins the Thames at Abingdon, we should get Occlve. Walker's *Gazetteer*, 1801, gives:—

"*Cleeve*, Devonsh. near Culliton. *Cleeve*, Glouc., in Westbury parish. *Cleeve, Bishop's*, Glouc., 5 miles from Tewkesbury. *Cleeve Prior*, Worc., 6 miles N. E. of Evesham.

"*Cleve*, Kent, near Ightam, or Ilkham. *Cleve*, Kent, in the Isle of Thanet. *Cleve*, Shropsh., S. of Wem. *Cleve*, Somers., near Bridgewater. *Clevedon*, Somers., on the sea-side, nearly opposite to the Flatholm. *Cleveland*, Yorksh., N. Riding, a tract on the borders of Durham. *Clevelod*, Worc. *Cleve, Old*, Somersesh., S.W. of Watchet. *Cleverton*, Wilts., near Malmesbury."

The *Hocks* are well scattered, tho most of the *Ocks* are in the West. The nearest name in sound to Hoccleve, besides the Hockliffe given above, is Hocklough in Northumberland, near Allanton. Walker gives:—

"*Hockenhall*, Chesh., near Tarvin. *Hockerell*, Hertfordsh., near Bishop's Stortford. *Hockerill*, Dorsetsh., near Nottingham and Broadway. *Hockerton*, Notting., N.E. of Southwell. *Hocket*, Kent, near Marden. *Hockford*, Devonsh., in Stockworthy parish. *Hockham, Great and Little*, Norf., W. of Buckenham. . . . *Hockhold*, Norfolk. *Hockley in the Hole*, Bedf., 5 miles N. of Dunstable. *Hockley in the Hole*, Essex, near S. Fambridge, in a miry road, often overflowed in the winter. It is a long range of houses, chiefly inns. *Hockridge*, Devonsh., N.W. of Exeter. *Hockring*, Norfolk, N.E. of E. Dereham. *Hockwold*, Norf., 3 miles from Brandon. *Hockworthy*, Devonsh., N. of Stamford Peverel. *Hocomb Hill*, Middlesex, between Mill Hill and Highwood Hill.

"*Ock*, a river in Berkshire, which runs into the Thames at Abingdon. *Ock*, a river in Devonshire, which runs into the Towridge, below Hatherley. . . . *Ockbrooke*, 5 miles from Derby. *Ockenden*, N. and S., Essex, S. of Cranham. . . . *Ockerridge*, Gloucestersh., a hamlet to Bisley. *Ockerton*, Oxfordsh., W. of Banbury. *Ockford*, Dorsetsh., in Marchwood Vale. *Ockford, Child, Superior* and *Inferior*, Dorsetsh., E. of the Stour. *Ockford Fitzpaine*, Dorsetsh., 3 miles S.E. of Sturminster, Newton. *Ockham*, Surrey, S.E. of Woking. *Ockleston*, Chesh., S. of Middlewich. *Ockley*, Bucks., N.W. of Tame. *Ockley*, Worcestersh., near Salwarp. *Ockley, Great and Little*, Northamptonsh., by Rockingham Forest. *Ockley-Park-House*, Shropsh., near Ludlow. *Ockold*, Suffolk S. of Eye. *Ocull* and *Ocull-Pichard*, N.E. of Hereford."

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. Entered the Privy-Seal Office at 19.* ix

24 years, come Easter, in the Privy-Seal Office.<sup>1</sup> He must have therefore gone into that Office in 1387-8, when he was 19 or 20 years old. Let us say 1387, and then the date fits the first document in which Hoccleve is mentioned in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1386-1400, ed. Nicholas, 1834, vol. i, p. 88 :—

[“ Additional MS in Brit. Mus. 4596, Art. 128, a modern tran

<sup>1</sup> “ In the office of the prive-seel I wone ; 802

To write there is my custume and wone  
Unto the seel, and have twenty yere  
And foure, come Estren, and that is nere.”—Ed. Wright, p. 29.

And again, at p. 37 of the same Roxburghe Club book, and p. xvii below :—

“ What man that twenty yere and more  
In writyng hath contynued, as haue I,  
I doe wele sey it smerteth hym fult sore  
In every veyne and place of his body ;  
And yen most it greveth trully,  
Of ony craft that man kan ymagyne :  
Fader, in feith, it spilt hath welny me.”

Sir Harris Nicolas says, in his Preface to vol. vi of *The Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 1837, p. cxlii—iii :

“ the Crown made several attempts to render the Privy Seal, and even the King's Signets of equal authority to the Great Seal.

“ The Privy Seal was in the Custody of the Clerk of the Privy Seal, who was sometimes called the Keeper, and afterwards Lord Privy Seal,\* who was a Member of the King's Council as early as the reign of Edward the Third, and who was then, if not before, a responsible Minister of the Crown. The Signet, and perhaps the other Small Seals, which will be again alluded to, were always kept by the King's Secretary, or by the King himself.”

The King's Signet was in the custody of his Secretary, as his private letters were signd with it. The Clerk of the Signet wrote out such Grants or Letters Patent as past, by Bills signd by the King, to the Privy Seal. This Signet-seald copy was a Warrant to the Privy Seal ; and the Privy Seal was a Warrant to the Great Seal : Lord Coke, *Second Institute* 556 ; Nicolas, *ib.* clxxxvi—vii. Statutes checking the wrong uses of the Signet and Privy Seal for illegal grants &c. are 13 Ric. II (1389), 8 Hen. IV (1406), and 18 Hen. VI, ch. i.

As to the King's Secretary and the holder of the Privy Seal, Sir H. Nicolas says, *ib.* cxxxii—iv :

“ While learning was to be found only in the cloister, the King's Secretary was a Priest ; and a layman never appears to have held that situation until the middle of the reign of King Henry VIII. After a few years' service he was frequently promoted to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was sometimes rewarded with a Mitre . . . Though the first of the King's Secretaries, of whom the name has been discovered, was a Member of the Council, it was not until towards the middle of Henry the Sixth's reign that they were always Privy Councillors. As the affairs of the Country were then conducted entirely by the King and his Continual or Privy Council, his Secretary, when a Member of the Council, of course shared the responsibility of the other Councillors ; but except in being one of the King's Councillors, he was a mere executive Officer, answerable only to the Sovereign himself . . .”

Coke's *Second Institute*, p. 554.

x § 1. *Hoccleve's Life. Privy-Seal Office. Traind as a Priest.*

script. This document is presumed to belong to about the 9th or 10th Ric. II. (22 June, 1385, to 21 June, 1387), as Sir John Clanvowe, who is mentioned therein, was retained to serve in the King's expedition into Scotland in 1385, and is supposed to have died before April 1390.]

"Sensuent les nouns des persones as quaux le Consail estoit accordez que briefs de liberate soient grantez pour les causes desouz expressees, sur les fees et annuitees a eux grantez et confermez . . .

Monsieur Johan Clanvowe	} Par cause quilz furent ovesque le	
Monsieur Robert Whitteneye		Roy en Escoce . . . .
Monsieur Thomas Bret	} Par cause quilz sont clers en Koffise du	
Thomas Hoccleve <sup>1</sup>		prive seal. <sup>2</sup>
Robert Frye		
Johan Hethe		
William Flete		

Hoccleve meant at first to be a priest<sup>3</sup>:—"I whilom thought Have ben a preest; now past is the raas." *De Reg.*, p. 52, l. 1147-8. He probably enterd the Privy-Seal Office till he could get a benefice

<sup>1</sup> The payment to Hoccleve referred to in the Privy-Council proceedings has not been found in any of the rolls for 1385-7. It may have been of a similar nature to the payment made to the Chancery clerks in 1387, in the Pells Issue Rolls for Easter, 10 Ric. II:—Payment to divers clerks of the Chancery of the King's gift, for their labour in copying Chancery enrolments and sending them to the Exchequer for execution.

The roll for Easter, 10 Ric. II (A.D. 1387), contains a payment of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to *Guy de Roclyff*, one of the clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, sent by order of the Lords of the Council as messenger to the King, "for certain matters touching the state of the King and the Kingdom."—R. G. Kirk.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Kirk cannot find any entries relating to Hoccleve or his fellow-clerks in the Pells Issue Rolls of 1388-90, tho there are others relating to payments for parchment, to Chaucer, &c. :—

1388, Easter, 11 Ric. II. Payment to John Blyth (as below).

1388, Mich., 12 Ric. II. 20 October, Tuesday. To John Blyth, "pergame-narius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "as well for the office of the Privy Seal, as for the Great Exchequer and the Receipt thereof," &c., 10*l.* [This is probably the ". . . . Bliht" mentioned in later entries. See Appendix].

1389, Easter, 12 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth and another, for parchment. Two Chaucer entries.

1389, Mich., 13 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Easter, 13 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Mich., 14 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

John Prophete (see p. xiv below, note 1) is described as "Clerk" only. Payment to "the Clerks of the Chancery." (See also Easter, 11 Ric. II. They seem to have had occasional "rewards" in the same way as the Clerks in the Privy-Seal office).

<sup>3</sup> Miss L. T. Smith says, in *Anglia* v. 15, that it may be concluded he was bred to the law. This was only because he livd in Chester's Inn.

promised him, and then meant to be ordained and take the endowment. But no benefice came. Instead, after twelve years' office-work, Hoccleve got from Henry IV, on Nov. 12, 1399, (six weeks after his accession), the grant of £10 a year for life, or until the King should promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice, without cure of souls, worth £20 a year, in other words, quarter him on a convent<sup>1</sup> (see Appendix I). The first payment of this Annuity, to Michaelmas 1400, namely £8 15s. 3d., was made to Hoccleve on Dec. 13, 1400 (App. II). The Roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV, 1401, is missing, but no doubt the poet drew his half-yearly £5, as we know he did the payment due at Michaelmas (App. III). Then in 1402 he gets his Easter £5 on April 26 (App. IV a), but out of his Michaelmas money fifteenpence is deducted (App. IV b).

In 1402, Hoccleve wrote his *Letter of Cupid*, printed in some of the black-letter Works of Chaucer, and below, p. 72-91. He based it mainly on Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*,<sup>2</sup> the first poem in vol. ii of her Works just issued for 1891, by the Old French Text Society, p. 1-27, in 826 lines, and complained how in Albion, above all lands, men shamed tears and sighs to deceive women, and then forsook them. His date of the month of May for the poem is borrowed from Christine de Pisan: needless to say that he never alludes to her. (See Notes at the end of this volume.)

On Oct. 15, 1403, Hoccleve gets his Annuity only by giving up £1 of it to the King, and taking £9 for ten (App. V). Next half he is probably hard-up, as he draws his half-yearly Easter £5 on March 6, 1404 (App. VI). The Michaelmas-1404 and Easter-1405 Rolls contain no entry of payment to Hoccleve, and he may then have written his appeal to the Lord Chancellor, p. 58 below, for payment of his arrears; but he gets his £5 for Michaelmas 1405 and Easter 1406 (App. VII, VIII). On Aug. 14, 1406, he is paid £3 0s. 8d. for parchment, ink and red-wax that he'd bought of divers folk for work of the Privy-Seal Office (App. IX).

<sup>1</sup> Compare the case of Thomas Purde, one of the Privy-Seal Clerks in Henry VIII's reign, "21 May, 1509. For Thomas Purde. To have a pension which the late created abbot of the Monastery of Hyde is bound to give to a clerk of the King's nomination."—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, i. 12, no. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Paul Meyer told me this.

In the last quarter of 1406, our poet wrote *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleue*, p. 25-39 below, in which he begs my namesake "my lord the Fourneval . . . pat now is tresorer" to pay him his Michaelmas £5; he dares not ask for the arrears<sup>1</sup> due to him, p. 38, st. 53. In this poem Hoccleve also confesses his ill-regulated youth, and says that for twenty years past he had eaten and drunk outrageously,<sup>2</sup>—ever since he 'd been in the Privy-Seal Office, if not before,—had frequented wine-houses, gone after pretty girls at the Paul's Head Tavern,<sup>3</sup> treated em to wine and wafers, and kist em, but hadn't "done the deed" (p. 28-30), owing, no doubt, to his cowardice, which he confesses made him keep quiet and out of rows. He was well known to the taverners and cooks at Westminster Gate, paid them whatever they askt, and was cald "a verray gentil-man" (p. 31). After eating and drinking there, instead of going back to the Privy-Seal Office, he 'd take a boat; and the boatmen fought for him because he always paid so well, and they cald him "Master" (or Squire), the name of a gentleman by birth or office, which tickled his vanity.

Hoccleve's appeal of 1406 to "my lord the Fourneval" seems to have produced £5 (App. X). On 12 July, 1407, Hoccleve gets his Easter £5 (App. XI), and on 15 July £3 6s. 8d., part of £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for parchment, ink and red wax (App. XII). But at Michaelmas, no pay is forthcoming, and so, on behalf of himself and his fellow-clerks, Baillay, Hethe<sup>4</sup> and Offorde, Hoccleve writes to Sub-Treasurer Somer the Balade and Roundel on pages 59-60 below, praying him to get em their pay before Christmas. This pay seems to be for salaries, not annuities. But on 16 Jan., 1408, Hoccleve gets £4 3s. 2½d., the balance of the £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for 16

<sup>1</sup> As Hoccleve's side-note to his past year's dues is "Annus ille fuit restrictionis annuitatum," he probably refers to the Act of 7 Henry IV (A.D. 1405), ch. 16, entitled, "Annuities graunted by the King or his Ancestors of an older date shall be payed before them that were graunted of a later date."—Fulton, 268.

<sup>2</sup> This stanza (826) is quoted from a scribbled poem on a blank leaf of Register O of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in the 9th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 108, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On its site, with that of Paul's Brewhouse, stood afterwards the St. Paul's Coffee-house, at the corner of the entrance from St. Paul's Churchyard to Doctors' Commons.—Cunningham.

<sup>4</sup> See Hethe's name, p. x above.

§ 1. Hoccleve's fresh Pension. His "Regement of Princes" 1412. xiii

month's parchment, ink, and red wax (App. XIII); on 4 Feb., 1408, he is paid his half-yearly annuity of £5, due at Michaelmas, 1407. In 1408 Hoccleve also gets his Easter £5 on July 7 (App. XV), while his Michaelmas £5 is paid on Feb. 13, 1409 (App. XVI). In 1409 he surrenders his Annuity of £10, and on May 17 has a fresh grant of an Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. from Michaelmas, 1408 (App. XVII). Six days after, on May 23, he gets his first half-yearly Easter payment of his increast annuity, £6 13s. 4d. (App. XVIII), and the like sum for Michaelmas, on Nov. 22, 1409 (App. XIX).

A few days before May 1, 1410,<sup>1</sup> if I read the lines aright, Hoccleve writes a chirpy poem to Somer,—then Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer,—from their Temple<sup>2</sup> Club, "the Court of good Company," p. 64-6 below, reminding him that he was to give em a good dinner on May-day, and had promist them £2 to buy flour or wheat. On June 23, 1410, Hoccleve is paid 22s. 2d. for 14 month's ink, parchment and red wax (App. XX); on the following July 17 he gets his Easter £6 13s. 4d., but no payment is made to him for Michaelmas (App. XXI), till July 8, 1411, when he gets his overdue £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXII). On 26 Feb., 1412, his annuity for the whole year 1411 is paid to him (App. XXIII). The Roll for Easter, 1412, is missing, and no payment to Hoccleve is on the Michaelmas Roll. So it was doubtless in 1412 that he wrote his *Regement of Princes*, or *De Regimine Principum*, to Henry, Prince of Wales, who became King Henry V on 21 March, 1413. On Nov. 5, 1412, Hoccleve is paid 32s. for parchment and ink (App. XXIV), by the hands of John Welde, afterwards his clerk.

*La Male Regle* of 1406 records Hoccleve's fast life. His larks, of course, required a good income, and he seems at one time to have had

<sup>1</sup> The date is settled in this way. The Club dinner is to be on Thursday, May 1. I ask Prof. Skeat if he can tell me in what year, after 1408, May 1 falls on Thursday; and he answers, "Yes, certainly! The Prayer-book Calendar marks May 1 as *b*. Let this be Thursday. Then *c* = Friday, *d* = Saturday, and *e* = Sunday. So the Sunday-letter is E.

The tables of years for which E is the Sunday-letter include 1410, 1421, 1427, 1432, 1438, 1449, and 1455. You can take your pick: 1410 looks probable.

Yours ever, W. W. SKEAT."

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Middle Temple, to which Chester's Inn, where Hoccleve livd, belonged. See Note, p. xviii below.

private means—see the extracts below;—but even in 1406 his “rentes annuel” “too scarce been, greet costes to susteene,” 36/361-2 below; the return from his “manuel labour” can be hardly seen or felt; and by 1411-12, he tells us three times over in his *Regement*, that (besides his annuity) his income is but six marks, £4, a year (34/935, 36/974, 44/1217). This £4 must have included both his rents—if he had any left—and his salary from the Privy Seal. The Chief of the Office<sup>1</sup> probably paid his clerks himself, out of his 20s.

<sup>1</sup> In the earlier entries in vol. i. of the *Proceedings and Ordonances of the Privy Council*, the name of “le gardein de notre prive seal” is not given. Those named afterwards—but who may have been appointed earlier,—are, in

1402, April 2. Thomas Langley, Keeper of the Privy Seal.—*ib.* i. 188.

1407, Nov. 16. John Prophete<sup>1</sup> (i. 300-1, “Maist . . . Prophete, gardein de notre prive [seal]”; ii. 79, “John Prophete, Secretaire du Reys, notre souverain seigneure”; Sec. to the King in Sept. 1402.—*ib.* 78).<sup>2</sup>

1417, Feb. 15. H. Ware (ii. 204: Feb. 15, 4 Hen. V, “H. Ware, custode privati sigilli.”)

1421, July 1. John Stafford (ii. 287; 1 Hen. VI, vi. 344), and till 1422, Dec. 16 (iii. 8).

1422, Dec. 16. William Alnewyke (iii. 8), and on 16 July, 1424 (vi. 346), and on 14 March, 1426 (vi. 348). Also frequently after he was Bp. of Norwich, as 10 March, 1427, “*Episcopus Norwicensis, custos privati sigilli*” (iii. 255), and in 1429 (iii. 426), &c.

1434. William Lyndewode (iv. 202, “*custos privati sigilli*”) and “*utrusque juris doctor*,” iv. 69. (When secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, he had £40 a year, with clothing, furs and lining: see in v. 150-1 the Petition to the King, June 3, 19 Hen. VI, A.D. 1441, of “your poevere clerck, Adam Moleyns, secondary in y<sup>e</sup> office of your prive seal, for such yerly reward and clothing for y<sup>e</sup> said office . . . as was paid and delivered to Maister William Lyndewode, late secondary in y<sup>e</sup> said office . . . in monnaye to be understande xl. ti. and clothing, furrur and lynnyng as y<sup>e</sup> said<sup>3</sup> William Lyndewode receyved.”)

1437. Thomas Beckington (v. 13, 313, “Th. Bekyngtoñ . . . *Custos privati sigilli*”; 335 (A.D. 1439, “Thomas Bekynton, legum doctor, Regis secretarius”); 337 (A.D. 1439, “Bekynton, secretario”); 350 (A.D. 1439, “Thome Bekynton, legum doctoris”), &c.

1441. Adam Moleyns (v. 151, “*Rex mandavit Custodi privati sigilli sui ut acceptaret Adam Moleyns, clericum, tunc consilii sui secundarii officii, custodiae privati sigilli, prout et diu Custos fuit antequam in custodia ejusdem privati sigilli sui fuit assumptus; recipiendo . . . xl ti singulis annis,*”) &c.

1444. Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath (vi. 24; Feb. 1, 22 Hen. VI: “*Youre humble chapellain, Thomas, bishop of Bath, keeper of youre prive seal*” [Adam Moleyns was present at the Council on Jan. 26.—*ibid.*])

1446. Bishop of Winchester (so Index, vi. 408: vi. 51, July 24, Hen. VI: “*my Lord of Chichestre, keeper of his prive seal*”).

1450. Andrew Holes (vi. 93: May 17, 28 Hen. VI: “*To our right trusty and welbelovyd clerck, Maister Andrew Holes, keeper of oure prive seal*”).

For particulars respecting the Privy Seal Office, says Mr. Kirk, see the

<sup>1</sup> He had 20s. a day.

<sup>2</sup> “*Master John Prophete was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal on 4 October, 8 Henry IV., 1406. See Issue Roll for Easter, 8 Hen. IV. Previously he was described as follows:—*(1400). Mich. 2 Hen. IV. He is called Dean of Hereford, and had been ‘retained’ as one of the King’s councillors.

(1405). Mich. 7 Hen. IV. John Prophet or Profyt, clerk, the King’s Secretary.”—R. G. Kirk.

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. His Marriage. Waste in Youth.* xv

a day, as little as he could: no payment of salary to Hoccleve, or any of the fellow-clerks he names, is on the Issue Rolls. At any rate, whatever money he had, he spent on drinking, stuffing, and girls, and then, as no benefice or corody was given him, he tired of waiting for it, and drifted into marriage:

Harl. 4866, lf. 26, bk.  
 I gasyd longë firste, & waytid faste 1451  
 After some benefice, and whan non cam,  
 By proces I me weddid<sup>1</sup> attë laste.  
 And, God it wot, it sorë me agaste 1454  
 To byndë me / where I was at my large;  
 But done it was: I toke on me þat charge.  
 ed. Wright, p. 53, st. 208, l. 1456.

He married for love, not money (*Reg.* 56/1559-61), and after his "skittish youth" (as the old Beggar terms his own gay time, *Reg.* 22/590) settled down into poverty and sad old age: no more treating and kissing the pretty plump girls at the Paul's Head.

Here is the account he gives of his prodigality in youth, p. 156-7:

Harl. 486, lf. 76, bk. st. 623, p. 156, ed. Wright.  
 A-mong foliës alle, is non, I leue, 4355  
 More þan a<sup>2</sup> man his gode ful largely  
 Despende, in hopë<sup>3</sup> men wol hym relieue.  
 Whan his gode is despendid vtterly,<sup>4</sup>  
 The indigent, men settë no thyng by. 4359  
 I, Hoccleue, in swich case<sup>5</sup> am gilty,—þis me  
 touchith,—  
 So seith pouert, which oon foole large him vouchith.

No folly is greater than for a man to spend largely, in hope that his donees 'll relieve him when he's poor. I did this.

st. 624, p. 157.

For þogh I neuer were of hy degree, 4362  
 Ne had[de] mochil gode, ne gret richesse,  
 þit hath þe vice of prodigalite  
 Smerted me sore, & done me hevynesse.  
 He þat but litil hath, may done excesse 4366  
 In his degree, as wel as may þe riche,  
 Thogh hir dispenses werë nat ylyche.<sup>6</sup> 4368

Tho' I never had much, yet I was prodigal.

Deputy Keeper's Reports, II. 33, 34, 70; the Guide to the Public Records, by S. R. Bird; the Report of the Record Commissioners, 1837, &c. The office of Clerks of the Privy Seal was abolished by Act of 14 and 15 Victoria, c. 82. (See Deputy Keeper's Reports, XIII. 4.)

<sup>1</sup> I weddede me, *Reg.* <sup>2</sup> a *Reg.*, om. H. <sup>3</sup> hop H, hope *Reg.* <sup>4</sup> MS. viterly. <sup>5</sup> swich a case H, suche case *Reg.* <sup>6</sup> lyche H, glyche *Reg.*



xvi § 1. *Hoccleve's Life. His Wastefulness, and Poverty.* 1412.

	st. 625.	
I opend my purse	So haue I plukkid at my purses <sup>1</sup> strynges,	4369
	And made hem often for to <sup>2</sup> gape and gane,	
till it was empty;	þat his smal stuf hath take hym to his wynges,	
	And hath I-sworne <sup>3</sup> to be my welthes bane,	
and I shall get nothing unless you, O Prince, give it me.	But if releef a-way my sorwe <sup>4</sup> plane;	4373
	And whens it comē shal, can I nought gesse,	
	Mi lorde, but it <i>procede</i> of your hynesse,	4375
	st. 626.	
I repent my misguided life.	I me repente of my mysrewly <sup>5</sup> lyfe:	4376
	Wherfor, in þe wey of savacioñ	
	I hope I be; my dotage excessyfe	
	Hath put me to swich castigacioñ,	
	þat indigence hath dominacioñ	4380
If I can get help, I shall thrive for the first time.	On me / O, had I help, now wold I þryue;	
	And so ne did I neuer <sup>6</sup> ȝit in my lyue.	4382
	st. 627.	
My annulty	My yeerly guerdoñ, myn annuite, [fr. 77]	4383
	That was me graunted for my long labour,	
is in arrear; I can't get paid.	Is al behynde; I may nought payed be;	
O, Prince,	Whiche causeth me to lyue[n] in langour.	
	O liberal prince, ensample of honour,	4387
	Vn-to your gracē lyke it to promoote	
relieve me!	Mi poore estat, <sup>7</sup> and to my woo beth boote.	4389
	st. 628.	
	And, worþy prince, at Cristes reuerence,	4390
	Herkeneth what I schal seyn, and be <sup>8</sup> nought greued,	
	But lat me stande in your beneuolence;	
	For if myn hertes wil wiste were and preeued,	
I desire your well-being, and your soul's health too.	How you to loue it stired is and meeved,	4394
	Ye shulden knowe / Y your honour and welþe,	
	Triste <sup>9</sup> and desire, and eek your soules helþe, &c.	4396

Over his writing or copying work, Hoccleve groans to his old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 36-7 :

	Harl. 4866, lf. 18, bk. st. 142.	
Many think copying isn't hard work.	¶ Many men, fadir, wenen þat writyng	988
	No trauaile is / þei hold it but a game :—	

<sup>1</sup> purs H, purses Reg. <sup>2</sup> for H, for to Reg. <sup>3</sup> sworne Reg. <sup>4</sup> my sorwe away Reg. <sup>5</sup> myreuled Reg. <sup>6</sup> *Read never as ne'er.* <sup>7</sup> Hoccleve's moral for the Prince, on not being paid, is that when he becomes King, he shouldn't (like his Father, understood) grant Annuities unless he's sure he can pay em; for retraction of payment kindles the hate of subjects. He'd better not grant any pensions at all, than fail to pay em, p. 172, st. 635-7, l. 4789-4809. There's a good bit of advice in l. 4893, p. 175, "No disdeyne have of the poores sentence (opinion)." <sup>8</sup> beth Reg. <sup>9</sup> Thurste Reg.

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. His trying Work at the Privy-Seal.* xviii

- Aart hath no foo, but swich folk vnkonynges:—  
 But who-so list disport hym in þat same,  
 Let hym continue, and he shal fynd it grame: 992 Just let 'em  
 It is wel gretter labour þan it seemeth; 994 have a good  
 þe blyndē man of coloures al<sup>1</sup> wrong deemeth. turn at it!
- st. 143.
- ¶ A writer mot thre thynges to hym knytte, 995 A copier must  
 And in tho may be no disseuerance; always  
 Mynde / ee<sup>2</sup> / and hand / non may fro othir flitte,  
 But in hem mot be ioynt contynuaunce. work mind,  
 The mynd, al hoole with-uten variance, 999 eye, and hand  
 On þe ee<sup>3</sup> and hand / awaytē mot alway, together.  
 And þei two eek on hym; it is no nay. 1001
- st. 144, p. 37.
- ¶ Who-so schal wrytē, may nat holde a tale 1002 He can't talk  
 With hym and hym / ne syngē<sup>4</sup> this ne that; to other folk,  
 But alle his wittēs grete and smale or sing,  
 Ther must appere, and halden<sup>5</sup> hem ther-at, but must give  
 And syn he spekē<sup>6</sup> may, ne syngē nat, all his wite to  
 But bothē<sup>7</sup> two he nedēs moot forbere: his work.  
 His<sup>8</sup> labour to hym is the alengere.<sup>9</sup> 1006  
 1008
- st. 145.
- ¶ Thise<sup>10</sup> artificers, se I day be day, 1009 Workmen  
 In þe hotteste of al her<sup>11</sup> bysynesse,  
 Talken and syngē,<sup>12</sup> and makē game and play  
 And forth hir labour<sup>13</sup> passith with gladnesse; talk, sing,  
 But we labore<sup>13</sup> in traueillous stilnesse; and lark.  
 We stowpe and stare vpon þe shēpēs skyn, 1013 We labour in  
 And keepē muste our song and<sup>14</sup> wordēs in. 1015 silence;  
 stoop and  
 stare on the  
 sheepskin.
- st. 146.
- ¶ Wrytyng also doth grete annoyēs thre. 1016 Our copyng  
 Of which ful fewē folkēs<sup>15</sup> taken heede  
 Sauf we oure self; and pisē, lo, þei be:  
 Stomak is on, whom stowpyng out of dreede  
 Annoyeth soore, and to our bakkes neede 1020 hurts our  
 Mot it be greuous; and þe thrid, our yen,<sup>16</sup> stomachs,  
 Vp-on the whytē mochel for to dryen. 1022 our backs  
 and our eyes.
- st. 147.
- ¶ What man þat þre and twenti<sup>17</sup> yere and more 1023 Any one  
 In wryting hath continued, as haue I, who's copied  
 for 20 years,

<sup>1</sup> Reg. omits 'al.' <sup>2</sup> eye Reg. <sup>3</sup> On eye Reg. <sup>4</sup> syngē Reg., syng H.  
<sup>5</sup> holde Reg. <sup>6</sup> setthe speke he ne. <sup>7</sup> both H, bothe Reg. <sup>8</sup> Hir Reg., His H.  
<sup>9</sup> elengere Reg. <sup>10</sup> This H. <sup>11</sup> for H. <sup>12</sup> syngē Reg., syng H. <sup>13</sup> labure H,  
 labouren Reg. <sup>14</sup> and our Reg. <sup>15</sup> om. folkes Reg. <sup>16</sup> eyen Reg. <sup>17</sup> MS.  
 xxij<sup>ii</sup> H, twenty Reg.

xviii § 1. *Hoccl's Life. His Dread of Poverty. At Chester's Inn.*

like I have, suffers for it in every bit of his body.	I dar wel sayn it smerteth <sup>1</sup> hym ful sore In euery <sup>2</sup> veyne and place of his body ; And yen <sup>3</sup> most it greueeth trewely	1027
It's nearly done for me.	Of any crafte þat man can ymagyne : Fadir, in feith, <sup>4</sup> it spilt <sup>5</sup> hath wel ny. myne. <sup>6</sup>	1029

In like wise, Hoccleve says to the old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 35 :

st. 138 (Harl. 4866).

Had I al- ways livd in poverty,	If þat I hadde of custume, or þis tyme, Lyued in indigences <sup>7</sup> wrecchednesse, The lesse heer-after schulð I sette <sup>8</sup> by me ; But in myn agē wrastle with <sup>9</sup> hardnesse, That with hym stroglið <sup>10</sup> neuere in greennesse	964
I shouldn't feel it so much now ; but the change is strange.	Of youth,—þat mutacion and chaunge An-othir day me seemē shulde al straunge.	966

st. 139.

God keep me from poverty! I'd sooner die than live miserably.	He þat neuere knewe swetnesse of wele, Thogh he it lakke ay / lesse hym greue it shal, Than hym þat hath ben weleful yeeris <sup>11</sup> fele, And in effect hath felt no greef at al. O pouert, God me sheldē fro thy fal ! O deth, thy strok is more agreable To me þan lyue a lyf so miserable. <sup>12</sup>	971 973
---------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------

In the *De Regimine* (A.D. 1411-12) Hoccleve tells us that he livd at Chester's Inn in the Strand,<sup>13</sup> where he also was, I suppose, as a

<sup>1</sup> smerteth Reg., smertth H. <sup>2</sup> euere H, euery Reg. <sup>3</sup> than H. <sup>4</sup> feth H, feith Reg. <sup>5</sup> sete Reg. <sup>6</sup> me Reg. <sup>7</sup> indigence and Reg. <sup>8</sup> sette Reg., sit H. <sup>9</sup> in Reg. <sup>10</sup> neuere stroglið Reg. <sup>11</sup> wele many yeres Reg. <sup>12</sup> So again on p. 65, st. 259, l. 1811-13 :

Wold honest dethe come, and me overterve,  
And of my gravē me putte in seisyne,  
To all my greef that were a medicyne.

<sup>13</sup> On Chester's Inn, on part of the site of Somerset House, Strand, where Hoccleve and his wife livd in 1411-12, Sir George Buck, in his Appendix to the 1615 edition of Stow's *Annales*, says, when writing of the Third University, London, p. 477 :—

“ *Of Strand Inne, and of the Studies of these Innes of Chauncery*, cap. 25.

“ There was also another Inne of Chauncery in the Strand, called *Chester Inne*, or *Strand Inne*, which, together with the houses of the Bishops of Chester, of Worcester, and of Landaffe, and the Church of S. Mary in the Strand, were all in the yeere of our Lorde MDXXXIX swallowed vp in the foundation of the goodly palace built by the Duke of Somerset, Uncle Maternell to K. Edward the 6. and thus much for the foundation and institution of these Innes of Chauncery. For the other matters belonging vnto them, I am able to say by mine owne experience, that in these houses of Chauncery liue and common together, Attornies, Solliciters, and Clarks belonging to the Courts, as well of mere and strict law, as of equitie and conscience. The chiefe or gouernour in euery Inne of these Innes of Chauncery, is called Principall. And in these

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. A poor married Man, and a Preacher.* xix

bachelor, handy for his Club in the Temple, for John Carpenter,—both before and after he was Town-Clerk of London,—and for City life in general, which he must have given up when he ranged himself, and settled into a poor married man.

Then if we put Hoccleve's marriage and start of post-Club life in 1410-11, we have our rake as a teacher, philosopher and reformer, in the *De Regimine*<sup>1</sup> in 1411-12, and the Balades at p. 61 below, to

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houses or colleges the Tyrones and young Gentlemen, at their coming vp are initiated to make first here an essay and a triall of the studie of the Law, which if they like, and haue a desire to proceed, they remove shortly after to one of the Innes of Court, whereunto that house of Chauncery belongeth: for he can take no degrees in an Inne of Chauncery but such as I here last named, which bee, rather seruices and procurations than aduancements and honors. Euary Inne of Court hath two or three Innes of Chauncery belonging vnto it, viz. to the middle Temple belong New Inne, and sometimes [formerly] *Strand Inne*. To the inner Temple belong Cliffords Inne, Lyons Inne, and Clements Inne. Thauies Inne and Furniuals Inne are members of Lincolns Inne. Staple Inne and Barnards Inne belong to Grayes Inne." . . .

Hoccleve speaks twice of his home as a "pore cote:" *De Reg.* 31/845, 34/940.

<sup>1</sup> The late Thomas Wright says in his Preface to his edition of *De Regimine* for the Roxburghe Club, 1860, p. xiii.-xiv.: "Oocleve tells us that he compiled his treatise *De Regimine Principum* from three works which were very celebrated in his time. These were, in the first place, the supposititious epistle of Aristotle, addressed to Alexander the Great, and known by the title of *Secretum Secretorum*; secondly, the book of Ægidius de Columna or Colonna, entitled *De Regimine Principum*, and of which Oocleve speaks as 'Gyles of Regement of Princes'; and lastly the well-known work of Jacobus de Cessolis, or Jacques de Cessoles, entitled the 'Game of Chess Moralized,' of which Caxton's celebrated book, 'The Game of the Chess,' was a translation through the French." After the Proem, and the long account of himself by the old Beggar who advises and tells his story to Hoccleve, the poet, says Mr. Wright, "in his introductory part, complains of the neglect which was shown in his time to the old soldiers of the French wars of the preceding century (p. 32); of the great prevalence of covetousness among the gentry (p. 43); of the eagerness of the churchmen after rich benefices, and of the prevalence of pluralism and absenteeism (p. 51); of the mischievous influence of the aristocracy in the courts of law (p. 54); of the evil practice of betrothing children in their infancy (p. 59); and of the frequency of adultery (p. 64). When he enters upon the subject of his book, he complains of the want of truthfulness among the knights of his time (p. 82), and of the absence of righteousness in England (p. 89); he urges the prince [after, Henry V] to obey the laws when he should have become king, as one of the principal duties of royalty, and complains that in England the laws were neglected, and feuds and outrages passed unpunished. Poor men could get no justice, while rich men committed crimes with impunity (p. 102). He especially urges the prince as king to protect the free election of the bishops in the cathedral churches (p. 104). In treating of Pity he condemns the practice of granting pardons for offences, giving an illustrative anecdote of a king of 'this land'

the Prince of Wales, and p. 56-7 to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. On March 21, 1412-13, the day of Henry V's accession, when the English lords did homage to him at Kennington, Hoccleve appears as a champion of orthodoxy and the Church, and writes the King the Balade on p. 39-40, exhorting him to be just, to govern with equity, and strengthen his Mother, Holy Church, by driving out heresy. Early in 1413 also comes the Balade on p. 47-8, about Henry V's enmity to Heresy, and his having Richard II's bones buried next to his Queen's in Westminster Abbey, one of the first things that the new King ordered to be done. On Sept. 28, 1413, Hoccleve got an *Inspeximus* and Confirmation by Henry V of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d.,—provided he should not be retained by any one else,—and a grant of his arrears from Michaelmas 1412 (App. XXV). Moreover, three days after, on Dec. 1, 1413, this year's arrears were paid to Hoccleve (App. XXVI). In 1414, he has a clerk, John Welde, and by his hands gets £1 6s. 8d. for 9 months' parchment, ink and red wax on Jan. 17 (App. XXVII); and on May 2 his Easter £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXVIII), but his Michaelmas one seems not to have been paid. For 1415 both his half-yearly instalments were paid, the second on Feb. 29, 1416 (App. XXIX, XXX).

On Aug. 13, 1415, when Henry V. took ship for Harfleur, on his Agincourt campaign, Hoccleve wrote, or began, his Remonstrance with Oldcastle, p. 8-24, reproaching him for having left the Faith, for being God's foe 9/27, for having sold his soul to the Devil 10/61; bidding him return to God 16/248, praying God for him 16/265, damning to hell the heretics who 'd misled him, p. 17,

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(p. 112), and advocates the punishment of death (p. 114). In the chapter on Mercy (p. 119), Hoccleve commends the merciful dispositions of John of Gaunt and his son Henry IV (p. 120). And in treating of 'largesse' and avarice, he speaks again of his own youthful prodigality, and repeats his appeal for the payment of his annuity (p. 156). He complains of the absence of liberality among lords in his time (p. 168). In speaking of Prudence, he counsels the prince, still with an eye to his own grievance, not to grant pensions unless he intends to pay them (p. 172). And, in his last chapter, when treating of Peace, he alludes to the troubles in England (p. 187); complains how unworthy people were promoted in the world before those who were worthy, while the deserving 'clerkes' of Oxford and Cambridge were neglected (p. 187); describes the melancholy state of France (p. 190); and deprecates the hostility between France and England (p. 193).

§ 1. *Hoccl.'s Life. Poem against Oldcastle 1415. Payments.* xxi

st. 35, hoping they'll be burnt here, 18/320; arguing Popish doctrines with them and calling them asses, 19/352; denouncing their rising in St. Giles's Fields in Jan. 1414, p. 20, st. 49, defending images, p. 21, rebuking communism, p. 22, st. 57-8, declaring that the orthodox 'll go to Heaven, the heretics to Hell, p. 23, st. 60, shaming Oldcastle for not fighting by Henry's side in France, p. 24, st. 63, and appealing to him to flee the Devil and humble himself to Henry V, p. 24, st. 64.

As the Balade to Henry V, on p. 62 below, begins "Victorious Kyng," I incline to put it late in 1415 or in 1416, after Henry's return to England from Agincourt. In it Hoccleve refers to a "bill" or petition by himself and two fellow-clerks—not three, as before 1408, p. 60, l. 25-6—for money for their "ful laborious" and "long service," 62/15—16, and says that if the King doesn't give em something, poverty will compel "us three to trotte vnto Newgate." It is curious that Hoccleve's 1416-Easter £6 13s. 4d. is paid to him on July 8 by three instalments thro friends,—had he borrowd from any of them?—£2 thro Jn. Burgh,<sup>1</sup> 6s. 8d. thro Robert Welton, and £4 6s. 8d. thro Jn. Welde, Hoccleve's clerk. Moreover, he gets 13s. 4d. as a loan from the Treasury (App. XXXI).

On Feb. 14, 1417, Hoccleve was paid, thro his clerk John Welde, £2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax, bought of Wm. Lucy (App. XXXII).

His 1416-Michaelmas £6 13s. 4d. is paid him on March 13, 1417 (App. XXXIII), and his 1417-Easter one on May 25, 1417 (App. XXXIV). His Michaelmas payment he takes in two instalments of £3 6s. 8d. each, on Nov. 30, 1417, and Feb. 10, 1418 (App. XXXV). In 1418, 1419, 1420, and 1421, the half-yearly payments of his Annuity are duly made within each year (App. XXXVI-VIII, XL-XLIV), and on July 10, 1419, he gets 12s. 2d. for 16 months' ink and red wax (App. XXXIX).

Yet though he was drawing his Annuity regularly during these five years 1416-21,—and "by his own hands" on 13 March and 30

<sup>1</sup> Was this a relative of the Benedict Burgh who finisht Lydgate's verse englishing of the *Secreta Secretorum*, now in the press for the E. E. T. Soc., edited by Mr. R. Steele of Bedford?

Nov. 1417, 8 July 1419, 17 June and 26 Nov. 1420, and 5 July and 11 Nov. 1421,—Hoccleve, poor old fellow, tells us in his pitiful *Complaint*, p. 89-106 below, written in November 1421, as I suppose, or early in 1422, how he went mad five years before, p. 96-7, st. 6-8, but then recoverd, tho in Westminster Hall and London (city) his old friends turnd their heads from him. And yet, tho he lookt sane, "there never stode yet, wyse man on my fete," a true saying. He seems to have gone back for a short time—till, at least, near Michaelmas 1422; see below—to the Privy-Seal Office, p. 106, st. 43, and made up his mind to take his trouble as all for the best, p. 109, st. 57. Then he gives us his *Dialog* with a Friend, in which he talks about his *Complaint*, and the evils of counterfeit and light coin, from clipping and washing, about which he says that an Act of Parliament has been past, that makes the weighing of coin necessary. This is evidently the Act of 1421 A.D., 9 Henry V, chapter xi, enacting that no coin shall be good payment unless it is of the standard weight.<sup>1</sup> Then Hoccleve says he means to english the Latin *Scite mori*, "Lerne for to dye" (p. 117). He is 53; his sight and mind are weakend (p. 119, st. 36), his insanity didn't come from book-study, but from his long illness (p. 121, st. 61); he has long owd a book to the Lord-Lieutenant (during Henry V's absence in France, 10 June, 1421, to H.'s death, 31 Aug. 1422), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, and took pen and ink to begin it as soon as he heard of the Duke's second return from France. (This was

<sup>1</sup> 9 Henry V, ch. xi, A.D. 1421.—*Statutes*, ed. Pulton, 1636, p. 290-1.

"No English Gold shall be received in payment but by the Kings weight.

"Item, to auoid the deceits and perils which long haue continued within the Realme, by Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeitors of the money of the Realme of England, to the great losse and damage of all the people of the same Realme: The King, by the aduice and assent of all the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, hath ordained and stablished, that from Christmas euen next comming, none of the King's liege people shall receive any money of English gold in payment, but by the Kings weight thereupon ordained. And because a great part of the gold now current in payment, is not of rightfull weight, nor of good alloy, the same shall be to the great losse and costs of the Kings subiects, vnlesse it please him to relieue them in this case: Our Soueraigne Lord the King, of his speciall grace, hath remised and pardoned to all his liege people which, betwixt this and the said Feast of Christmas, shall cause to be coyned of new at the Kings coinage within the Tower of London their money of gold that is not of iust weight nor of good alloy, that is to say, all that to him pertaineth for this new coinage of such gold as afore. Sauing alwaies to the Master of the Mint, and to other officers of the same, that which to them reasonably pertaineth."

§ 1. Hoccl.'s "Complaint" &c. of 1422. *His Wife's Kindness*. xxiii

doubtless with Henry V and his French Queen on Feb. 3, 1421: Halle, p. 105, ed. 1809). On p. 130, Hoccleve mentions the Duke's worthiness at Cherbourg (in 1418<sup>1</sup>), his winning Constantine—seemingly in 1417<sup>2</sup>,—and his valour at the siege of Rouen, 1418 (city surrendered Jan. 19, 1419). But as the Duke likes dalliance with ladies (p. 135, st. 101), and Hoccleve's friend advises him to make amends to them for the offence they took—quite wrongly, as he well says on p. 137-8—at his Letter of Cupid twenty years before, the poet resolves to english for them the tale of a true wife,—of Jereslaus or Gerelaus—from the *Gesta Romanorum*, which he accordingly does, p. 136, &c. On p. 136, st. 106, l. 739-42, Hoccleve's wife turns up again; so he no doubt had some one to look after him during his long illness and madness; and tho he says nothing about his wife's care of him, we may hope fairly (if not admit) that his stanza 57, p. 154, applies here:

"In al the world / so louynge tendrenesse	394
Is noon / as is the loue of a womman,	
To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,	
To hire housbonde also / where-of witnessse	397
We weddid men may bere / if þat vs lyke;	
And so byhoueth / a thanke vs to pyke."	399

If for "namely / &" in l. 396, we read "/ and namely (specially)" with MS Reg. 17 D 6, the line runs better, and the testimony to the wife's affection is more emphatic. But see p. xxxvii below.

Having finisht this first *Gesta* story, and added the Moralization which wasn't in his book, but was lent him by his friend, p. 175, Hoccleve englishes the first Part of the Latin *Scite mori* or "Lerne to dye," and leaves the other three Parts alone, p. 212, st. 132,

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1418. Halle's *Chronicle* (1809), p. 83: "To this siege came the duke of Gloucester, with therle of Suffolke and the lorde of Burgainy, whiche had taken the toune of Chierburgh, and wer lodged before the porte of Sainct Hillarij, nerer their enemies by fortie rodde then any other persones of the armie."

<sup>2</sup> After Henry V took Caen in 1417, and the Duke of Gloster, Lisieux, Halle says (*Chronicle*, 1809, p. 80) that

"diuerse tounes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he apoynted these capitaines.

"At Caenton, the lorde Botraux.	At Chiergurg [Cherbourg], the lord
At Seint Clow, Reignold West.	Grey Codner, and after his decease,
At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.	sir water Hungerford."



except the portion which tells what joy and bliss are prepared for those who shall go hence to the heavenly city of Jerusalem, and the torment that is in Hell. Then, at the asking of his friend, who wants a tale to warn his son of fifteen against the wiles of women, Hoccleve englishes a second *Gesta* story, p. 218 &c., of the prostitute who beguild an Emperor's son (Jonathas) of his magic Ring, Brooch, and Cloth, tho at last he got them back again: the story of Fortunatus, of which William Browne printed Hoccleve's text in his *Shepherds Pipe*,<sup>1</sup> 1614. The MS winds up with an Envoy of the

<sup>1</sup> Browne praises Hoccleve highly, and promises to print the rest of his works if this sample tale pleases. This come after the Tale. Before, Browne says, p. 177, ed. 1869:—

I will sing what I did leere  
Long agon in Ianueere,

After the Tale, p. 196, Browne's *Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, ii. 196-8, ed. 1869:—

*Willy.*

By my hooke, this is a Tale  
Would befit our Whitson-ale:  
Better cannot be, I wist,  
Descant on it he that list.  
And full gladly giue I wold  
The best Cosset in my fold  
And a Mazor for a fe,  
If this song thou'lt teachen me.  
Tis so quaint and fine a lay,  
That vpon our reuell day  
If I sung it, I might chance  
(For my paines) be tooke to dance  
With our Lady of the May.

*Roget.*

*Roget* will not say thee nay,  
If thou deem'st it worth thy paines.  
Tis a song, not many Swaines  
Singen can; and though it be  
Not so deckt with nycetee  
Of sweet words full neatly chused  
As are now by Shepherds vsed,  
Yet, if well you sound the sense,  
And the Morals excellence,  
You shall finde it quit the while,  
And excuse the homely stile.  
Well I wot, the man that first  
Sung this Lay, did quench his thirst,  
Deeply as did euer one  
In the Muses *Helicon*.  
Many times he hath been seen  
With the Fairies on the greene,  
And to them his Pipe did sound,  
Whilst they danced in a round.  
Mickle solace would they make him,

Of a skilfull aged Sire,  
As we tosted by the fire.

And at mid-night often wake him,  
And convey him from his roome  
To a field of yellow broome;  
Or into the Medowes where  
Mints perfume the gentle Aire,  
And where *Flora* spends her treasure:  
There they would begin their measure.  
If it chanc'd nights sable shrowds  
Muffled *Cynthia* vp in cloudes,  
Safely home they then would see him,  
And from brakes and quagmires free  
him.

There are few such swaines as he  
Now adayes for harmony.

*Willie?*

What was he thou praisedst thus?

*Roget.*

Scholler vnto *Tityrus*:  
*Tityrus* the brauest Swaine  
Euer liued on the plaine,  
Taught him how to feed his Lambes,  
How to cure them, and their Dams;  
How to pitch the fold, and then  
How he should remoue agen:  
Taught him when the Corne was ripe,  
How to make an oaten Pipe,  
How to ioyne them, how to cut them,  
When to open, when to shut them;  
And with all the skill he had,  
Did instruct this willing lad.

*Willie.*

Happy surely was that Swaine!  
And he was not taught in vaine:  
Many a one that prouder is,  
Han not such a song as this,

§ 1. *Lady Westmorland, Dedicatee of Hoccle's "Complaint."* xxx

Volume to "my lady of Westmorland" by her "humble servant . . . T<sup>h</sup> Hoccleve."

Now, assuming that the allusions and dates above given fix the date of the *Complaint* MS to the winter of 1421 or the early part of 1422, and assuming that Hoccleve, after his long illness and in his perpetual want of money, sent the MS to Lady Westmorland as soon as it was written, it is clear—say my good friends, Norroy King at Arms (G. E. Cokayne) and Horace Round (whose letter dated 1 March 1883 has just turnd up again)—that the Lady was John of Gaunt's daughter Joan (by Katherine Swinford), who was Countess of Westmoreland from 1397 to 1425, and Dowager Countess from 1425 to 1440.<sup>1</sup> But if any reader thinks that Hoccleve did with the Durham MS. what he did with the Phillipps, put several poems of later date with others of early ones, he can take his choice of two other Countesses of Westmoreland, Elizabeth and Margaret, before Hoccleve's death in 1450 (?), according to Norroy's pedigree printed below.<sup>2</sup>

And haue garlands for their need,  
That but iarre as *Skellons* reed.

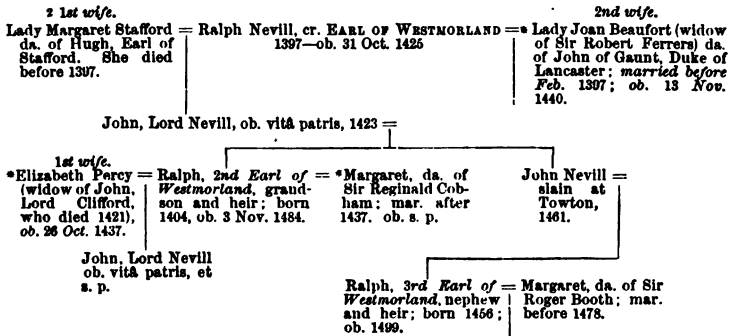
*Roget.*

Tis too true : But see the Sunne  
Hath his iourney fully run ;

And his horses all in sweate,  
In the Ocean coole their heate :  
Seuer wa our sheepe, and fold them ;  
T'will be night ere we haue told them.

*THOMAS OCCLEEVE, one of the priuy Seale, composed first this tale, and was neuer till now imprinted. As this shall please, I may be drawne to publish the rest of his workes, being all perfect in my hands. Hee wrote in CHAUCERS time.*

<sup>1</sup> She was buried at Lincoln with her mother Katherine (Swinford), for whom she had founded a Chantry there in 1437-8. Her first husband died between Sept. 1410 and Sept. 1411.



\* Of these three Ladies, Joan was Countess c. 1397 to 1440; Elizabeth, 1425 to 1437; Margaret, c. 1437 to 61.

Before Hoccleve finisht his Complaint he must have written his Balade in the Ashburnham MS (see below, p. xxviii), "pour la bien venue du tresnoble Roy H. le V<sup>e</sup>. . . hors du Roialme de France (cestassauoir, sa dareine venue)", 3 Feb. 1421. On Feb. 29, 1422, Hoccleve is paid 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink (App. XLV), and on May 25 he gets his half-year's annuity of £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter 1422 (App. XLVI). On Aug. 31, 1422, Henry V dies, and the baby Henry VI succeeds him.

On Jan. 24, 1423, there is an Inspeximus and Confirmation, on behalf of Henry VI, of Hoccleve's Annuity-grant of £13 6s. 8*d.* (App. XLVII). On Feb. 15 he gets a half-year's payment (£6 13s. 4*d.*) to Michaelmas 1422 (App. XLVIII), as *late* one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office; and on May 20, 1423, he gets a like payment to Easter 1423 (App. XLIX), being again described as "*late* one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office." On May 20, 1423, he is also paid 23s. 1*d.* (or 4*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, bought by him of Walter Lucy, of London, for the Privy-Seal Office (App. L).

At last in 1424 comes a grant to our poor poet, now 56 or 55. On July 4, 1424, "votre tres humble clerç, Thomas Hoccleve de l'office du prive seal," is granted, by the King and Privy Council, such sustenance yearly during his life in the Priory of Southwick, Hants,<sup>1</sup> as Nicholas Mokkinge, late master of St. Lawrence in the Poultry,<sup>2</sup> had (Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 4604, art. 34; Privy Council Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 152, App. XLIX below). Notwithstanding the grant of this corody—which was, let us hope, worth £20 a year, (see p. xi

<sup>1</sup> Southwick, a parish in the hundred of Portsdown, co. Hants, 4 miles N.E. of Fareham, its post town, and 3 N. of Porchester railway station. The village is considerable, and near Bere Forest. The parish includes the manor of Aplestede. It had formerly a priory of Black Canons, in which Henry VI was married to Margaret of Anjou. At the Dissolution the revenues were returned at £257, and the site given to the Whites.—Hamilton's *Gazetteer*.

<sup>2</sup> See Dugdale, vi, Pt. I, p. 243, Nicholas Mockyng, 19th Jan., 1 Hen. IV, A.D. 1400, Master of St. Lawrence, Poultry. The Priory of Southwick was first founded by Hen. I in 1133 in the church of St. Mary Porchester, and not long after removed to Southwyke. Priors in Hoccleve's time: Thomas Curteis or Cortays, 22 July, 22 Ric. II; Edward Dene, 23 Sept., 11 Hen. VI; John Soburton, on whose death Philip Stanebrook received the temporalities, Sept. 20th, 3 Edw. IV.

§ 1. *Hoccl. perhaps dies in 1450. Ashburn. MS of his Poems. xxvii*

above, and Appendix I)—Hoccleve receivd the Michaelmas half-year's payments of his Annuity, £6 13s. 4d. each, both for 1424 and 1425 (Appendix LII, LIII); after which the Southwick priory doubtless kept him in moderate comfort. And after this, unless our friend Mr. Gollancz shows that Lord Ashburnham's autograph Hoccleve MS has any other dated poems besides the Cupid of 1402, and the Hen. V one of 1421, we find nothing of Hoccleve's that we can assign a definite date to, except his "Balade to my gracious Lord of Yorke," the father of Edward IV (p. 49—51 below), which, as it asks that it may not be shown by Prince Edward to (his tutor) "Master Picard," was probably written between 1448, when Edward was six years old, and Hoccleve's death, that Mason supposes took place in 1450. The "Balade to my maister Carpenter," on p. 63, must be an early work. See p. xxxiv below.

The Hoccleve part of the Ashburnham MS 133 contains :

1. Inuocacio ad patrem :

beg. To thee / we make oure inuocacioun  
Thow god / the fadir / which vn-to vs alle

20 stanzas of 7 lines each, *ababb cc*, the last ending with

And stifly graunte vs in thy cause stonde  
And flitte nat / whan we take it on honde.

2. Ad filium :

beg. O blessid chyld Ihesu / what haast thow do  
þat for vs shuldist souffre swich Iewyse

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

And graunt vs grace thee to loue & drede  
And yeue vs heuene / whan þat we be dede.

3. Ad *spiritum sanctum* :

beg. Now holy goost of the hy deitee  
Loue and holy *communicacioun*

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

Our soules / hem to haue in gouernance  
O Trinitee haue vs in remembraunce.

4. Ad *beatam Virginem* :

beg. Worshipful maiden to the world / Marie  
Modir moost louynge vn-to al man-kynde

xxviii § 1. *The Ashburnham MS of Hoccleve's Minor Poems.*

7 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

For whom thow preyest / god nat list denye  
Thyn axynge / blessid maiden Marie.

5. Item de *beata Virgine* :

beg. Syn thow modir of grace / haast euer in mynde  
Ah tho / þat vp-on thee han memorie

20 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

His passion / witnesse bere may  
Remembre on þat / and preye for vs aye

6. Item de *beata Virgine* :

beg. Who so desirith to gete and conquere  
The blisse of heuene<sup>t</sup> needful is a guyde

Ce feust faicte  
a linstance de  
T. Marleburgh }

Prologus, 3 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*,

Fabula (story of a Monk who, by saying *Ave Maria* 50 times a day, got the Virgin a sleeveless garment; and then, by trebling the 50 Aves and adding to every tenth a Pater-Noster, got sleeves put to the garment, and afterwards became an Abbot of his monastery and went to heaven), 15 like stanzas.

7. Lepistre de Cupid, printed below from other worse MSS, p. 71-92; 68 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*.

8. Ceste balade ensuante feust faite pour la bien venue du tres-noble Roy. H. le .V.<sup>t</sup> (*que dieu pardoint!*) hors du Roialme de France / cestassauoir, sa dareine venue. [? 3 Feb., 1421, tho the Queen is not mentiond in it, but Henry is cald "heir and Regent of France" in accordance with his treaty with the French King: see Holinshed, *Chron.* iii. 573-4.<sup>1</sup>]

beg. Victorious cristen Prince / our lord souereyn  
Our lige lord ful dred and douted / we

5 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

To be ful greet / for why / to vs echone  
Welcome be your peereles persone.

<sup>1</sup> "The morow after Trinitie sundaie, being the third of June [1420], the mariage was solemnised and fullie consummate betwixt the King of England and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed *heire and regent of France*." Holinshed, iii. 573, lines 23-9, ed. 1587.

"25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry, roy d'Engleterre, heretere de France*. And in Latine in this manner: *Præclarissimus* [for *præclarissimus*] *filius noster Henricus, rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ*." Holinshed, iii. 574, col. 2, lines 69-73, ed. 1587.

Stanzas 10, 11, 12 of Hoccleve's "How to Learn to Die"

(p. 180-1 below)

from Lord Ashburnham's Hoccleve MS.

They moche of his tyme han expended  
 In synne, and for thyng, whan thou shalt see  
 Up on hem fallith, and they nat amended  
 And shal from hem byweie thyng & breche  
 For thee swedde synne, whan thee seest  
 So helle noon the foules miserable  
 They to dwell in peyne & dwelle

2            
 Death wolde han ofte! a byrd put on thee  
 And thee out hys led a way, thee out  
 & sette the hand of goddes mercy be  
 That doo right moche on to þe lord holde  
 For thee prayd þe in synne alle  
 He spard thee, thy synne no þe forsaie  
 And on to my doctrine, thee thee take

2            
 More to thee profite shal my word  
 Than chosen gold or the bookes coloure  
 Of philosophes, & for that the more  
 Conveniently holde, for thy persone  
 Under sensible ensample thee to one  
 To god, & thee the better for to the  
 The mistere of my word shal thee shee



9. Cy ensuent trois chaunceours / lune conpleynante a la Dame monoie / & lautre, La response dele a celui qui se conpleynt; & la tierce / la commendacion de ma dame.

I. Roundel :

beg. Wel may I pleyne on yow lady moneye  
bat in the prison of your sharp scantnesse

3 stanzas of 4, *abba*, the burden being repeated thrice—after each half of st. 2, and after st. 3;—ends

Elles I moot in right a feynt gladnesse  
Synge of yow thus / & yow accuse & seye [Wel may I, &c.]

II. La response :

beg. Hoccleue / I wole / it to thee knowen be  
I, lady Moneye / of the world goddesse

3 like stanzas, with the burden repeated as above; ends

Hir comly body / shape as a foot bal  
And shee syngith / ful lyke a papelay.

10. A Couplet :

Aftir our song / our mirthe & our gladnesse  
Heer folwith a lessoun of heynesse.

11. Hic incipit ars Vtilissima sciendi mori. *Cum omnes homines* &c.; the first 96 stanzas of the Poem printed below, p. 178-203, with a few various readings, some being improvements.

The only other MS we have in Hoccleve's hand (almost all of it) is the large quarto Additional MS 24,062 in the British Museum, containing copies of documents, warrants, letters, &c., passing under the Privy Seal.<sup>1</sup> They are chiefly in French, a few in Latin; and in

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Additions to the MS of the British Museum in the years 1854—1875, vol. ii. (1877), p. 3:—

"24,062. A large collection of forms of documents passing under the Privy Seal; consisting of copies of letters and warrants, *tempp.* Rich. II.—Hen. V.; chiefly in French: compiled by Thomas Hocclef, or Occeleve, the poet, Clerk of the Privy Seal, and almost wholly in his handwriting; in the following order:—

1. Table of Contents, French, ff. 2-4 b, 198—201 b.
2. Letters addressed to the Chancellor, under the following heads: "Pur la sommacion du parlement," "Licence," "Grauntz," "Pardons," "Collacions," "Nominacions," "Restitucions," "Presentacions," "Ratificacions," "Sauf conduytz," and "de diverses natures," f. 5.
3. Warrants to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, f. 44.
4. "Au Tresorer dengleterre par soy, et au Tresorer de lostel," f. 53.
5. "As Tresorers des guerres," f. 54.
6. To the Justiciar and Chamberlain of Chester, f. 59 b.
8. To the Chamberlain and other officers of North and South Wales, f. 69 b.
9. "Pur la guerre"; to various persons, f. 73 b.
10. To the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, f. 75.



turning over the leaves I saw only two notes in English. Article 17 of this MS contains 28 pages of copied letters, and is headed *Omnegadrium*, a title that makes you smile when you see it. On leaf 101 back, Hoccleve adds a bottom line: "4 Hic finitur calendera istius Libri *secundum* compositionem Thome Hoclyf. facta per manum suam ad finem libri." In the margin of leaf 124, against a French transcript in another hand, is "*secundum copiam hocclief*." The two English notes are at the foot of leaf 102 front and 194 back. At the latter place Hoccleve had left seven lines blank at the bottom of the page, and therefore writes in:—

"¶ Heere made y lepe yeer—ex negligencia &c. Witnessse on Petebat &c, in the nexte syde folwyng, which sholde haue stonden on this syde / but how so it stonde / it is a membre of the matere precedent."

The characteristic form of Hoccleve's *W* in his Poems is seen in some careless writing at the foot of leaf 102 front, and leaf 194 back of this Addit. MS 24,062. Compare the facsimile of the last page of the Durham MS. in the present volume. There is a small capital *R* inside the *W*.

§ 2. *Hoccleve's Love of Chaucer*. The chief merit of Hoccleve is that he was the honourer and pupil of Chaucer. Dukes don't matter; Chaucer does. On his Master, Hoccleve has three long passages in his *De Regimine*, p. 71, p. 75-6, p. 179, ed. T. Wright,

11. "A diuerses Coillours"; collectors of customs and subsidies, f. 76 b.
  12. "As Maires et autres officers ioyntement," f. 79.
  13. To Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Justices, "Gardeins diuerses," Escheators, Clerk of Arraigns, Constables and Captains of castles, Seneschals, Receivers, Farmers and Auditors, f. 83.
  14. Letter of Charles V. of France to the town of Abbeville, Melun-sur Seine, 19 Mar. 1368. French, f. 102 b.
  15. "Lettres Patentés," for various purposes, f. 103.
  16. "Lettres adresses a diuerses estatz en Guyenne," f. 115.
  17. "*Omnegadrium*"; letters addressed to various persons for different purposes, f. 120 b.
  18. "Pur venir au conseil, f. 136.
  19. "Pur apprester monoie, chivalx et chariottes," f. 137.
  20. "Missives." Under this heading are copies of letters from the King of England to various foreign princes; with a few letters addressed to the King, ff. 139 b—163 b, 168, 169, 185 b—197.
  21. Papal bulls, f. 164—167 b, 170—178.
  22. "Exordies et extraits des lettres"; beginnings and clauses of letters, ff. 178—185 b.
- Vellum; xvth cent." . . .



xxxii § 2. *Hoccleve's Love and Praise of Chaucer.*

	p. 75, st. 297 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 37.	
He would have taught me, but I was dull.	My dere maistir—God his soule quyte !— And fadir Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taght, But I was dul, and lerned lite or naght.	2077 2079
	st. 298.	
	Allas ! my worthi maister honorable, [fr. 37 bk.] This landes verry tresor and richesse !	2080
Death has stript the land of his sweet rhetoric.	Dethe, by thi deth / hath harme irreparable Vnto vs doon ; hir vengeable duresse Despoiled hath þis land of þe swetnesse Of rethorik / for vnto Tullius Was neuer man so lyk amonges vs.	2084 2086
	st. 299.	
He was the highest in Philosophy.	Also who was hier in philosophie To Aristotle / in our tonge but thow ? The steppes of Virgile in poesie Thow folwedist eeke, men wot wel ynow. That combrewold þat þe my maistir slow, Would I slayne were ! Deth was to hastyf, To renne on þe, and reuë the thi lyf.	2087 2091 2093
	st. 300, p. 76.	
Death regards the virtuous no more than the vicious.	Deth hath but smal consideracion) Vnto þe vertuous, I haue espied, No more—as shewith the probacion)— Than to a vicious maister losel tried ; Among an heep / euery man is maistried ; With hire / as wel þe porre / as is þe riche, Lerede <sup>1</sup> and lewde eeke / standen al yliche.	2094 2097
	st. 301 (ed. Wright). Harl. 4866, lf. 37 bk.	
	She myghte han taryed hir vengeance a while Til that some man had egal to the be. Nay, lat be þat ! sche knew wel þat þis yle May never man forth bryngë lyk to the, And hir officë nedës do mot she ; God bad hir do so, I truste as for the beste ; O maister, maister, God þi soulë reste !	2101 2105 2107
Never shall England breed another Chaucer !	p. 179, st. 712 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 87 bk.	
	The firstë fyndere of our faire langage Hath seyde in caas semblable, & othir moo, So hily wel, þat it is my dotage For to expresse or touche any of thoo. Alasse ! my fadir fro þe worlde is goo, My worthi maister Chaucer, hym I mene : Be þou aduoket for hym, heuenes quene !	4978 4982 4984
Pray for him, Queen of Heaven ;	[Keep the Sabbath, and bow your heart to God : later in MS.]	

<sup>1</sup> Lerd, Harl., Lerede, D Reg. 6.

	st. 713.	
As þou wel knowest, o blissid virgyne,		4985
<i>With</i> louyng hert and hye deuocion		
In þyne honour he wroot ful many a lyne ;		he wrote much in thine honour.
O now þine helpe & þi promocioun		
To God þi Sonē make a mocion		4989
How he þi seruauant was, mayden marie, [1r. 88]		
And lat his louē floure and fructifie.		4991
	st. 714.	
Al-þogh his lyfe be queynt, þe résemblaunce		4992
Of him haþ in me so fressh lyflynesse,		
þat, to putte othir men in rémembraunce		His likenes is so fresh in me, that I've had it painted here.
Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse		
Do makē, to þis ende, in sothfastnesse,		4996
þat þei þat haue of him lest þought & mynde,		
By þis peynturē may ageyn him fynde.		4998



One likes to think of Chaucer's wishing to teach the young Privy-Seal clerk, and giving him advice ; as also of the probability that the pupil was with Chaucer sometimes during his illness and at his death. (Gascoigne's making Chaucer "an awful example" is mere parsonic rot: the poet's *Retractation* fancified.)

xxxiv § 3. *Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.*

In the present volume, p. 135, lines 694-7, Hoccleve cites Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* as his authority for saying that women don't like men to put any vice on them, attribute any evil to them.

As she says,

Ne I wolde nat / of hym corrected be,  
I hate hym / that my vices telleth me,  
And so doo mo / god woot of vs / than I.

*Wife of Bath's Prolog*, D § 1, l. 661-3 Ellesmere MS, p. 185; Six-Text, p. 352.

He also adopts Chaucer's excuse when he is blamed for abusing the women he meant to defend: "I wasn't the author of these accusations, I was only the reporter of other folk's tales. What they said, I wrote, but I never said it myself," 137/760-3. Why didn't he confess that he had but adapted the poem from Christine de Pisan? The influence of Chaucer is felt all thro Hoccleve.

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.* Among Hoccleve's patrons were Henry IV (p. 47), Henry V, both when Prince of Wales<sup>1</sup> (p. 61) and King (p. 62), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster (p. 129), the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (p. 56), the Duke of York, father of Edward IV, who once askt the poet to send him all the balades he had left (p. 49), the Duchess of York (50/22-4), John of Gaunt (*De. Reg.* 19/512-25), the Lord Chancellor (p. 58), the Countess of Westmorland, daughter of John of Gaunt (p. 23), Lady Hereford (p. 8), Robert Chichele, probably a relative of Henry Chichele, the Archbp. of Canterbury (born c. 1362, died 1442), and possibly Sir John Oldcastle before his heresy so-cald (p. 8). Among his friends were Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Carpenter the famous town-clerk and benefactor of London,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Beggar*.—"My lord the prync, knoweth he the nat!" . . .

*Hoccleve*. "Yis, fader, he is my good<sup>d</sup> gracious lord<sup>d</sup>."—

*De Reg.*, p. 66, l. 1832, 1836.

Also the *Beggar* says to the poet, *ib.* 69/1899 :

"My lord<sup>d</sup> the prync is good lord the to."

<sup>2</sup> The City folk long feasted on and plunderd his charity bequest, but in 1833 founded the City of London School out of it.

The tone of the Balade on p. 63 is that of one friend to another who 'd be likely to intercede with the writer's creditors, st. 4, and not to Jn. Carpenter, Bp. of Worcester, even when he was Master of St. Anthony's School and Hospital, or Provost of Oriel (1480). Wouldn't a priest too have been cald "Sir John" instead of "Maister" ?

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Associates and Character. Bred a Priest.* xxxv

Mr. Massey, connected with the Duke of Bedford (p. 57), and Mr. Picard, tutor to Henry V when Prince of Wales (p. 50). He belonged to a dining-club in the Temple, and the five Privy-Seal clerks he names are Prentys and Arundel (35/321), and Baillay, Hethe and Offorde (60/25-6). As yet we have entries naming only three of these clerks; Hethe (p. x above), Prentys and Arundel in the note below.<sup>1</sup> Whether the T. Marleburgh, at whose request Hoccleve wrote his third Virgin-poem in the Ashburnham MS (p. xxviii above), was a patron or friend, is not known.

There is so little of the country in Hoccleve's works,<sup>2</sup> that he was no doubt a cockney. I see no evidence that he had ever crost a horse;<sup>3</sup> and he was too much of a coward (p. 30, st. 22 below) to play football or any other rough game. Meant to be a priest, he was no doubt brought up at some Monastery School, perhaps livd altogether with the monks as an acolyte. He was probably driven and lunged with a sharp curb, and kept on the dumb-jockey all day.

When he got free, and was his own master, he naturally kickt up his heels, and at 18 he seems to have turnd into a smart Government-Clerk while waiting for a benefice that he never got. He no

<sup>1</sup> Prentis and Arundel are mentiond in 1431—as entitled to cloth and lambfur—in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1429-36, ed. Nicolas 1835, vol. iv, p. 77;

[Additional MS in British Museum, 4606, art. 48, a modern Transcript.

“Petition to the Council, with the Answer, 14th February, 9 Hen. VI, 1431”  
 “Please au tressage conseil nostre tressoverain seigneur le Roy, granter une lettre de garrant desoubz le prive seal, directe as Tresorer et Barons de l'eschequer, pur fair pleine et dehu allowance a William Philippe, chivaler, tresorer de l'oustel nostre dit seigneur, en son accompt qi est arendre devant eux a cause de son dit office, des sommes ensuyantz pur certains draps et furres agnelx, achetez pur diverses clers, escuiers et henxmen a la suyt du dit houstiel, encontre le feste de Noel, l'an ix<sup>m</sup> assavoir, a John Burey, Robert Felton, John Langton, John Tiphon, John de Pount, *John Prentys, John Arundell*, John Seward, Nich[olas] Sturgeon et Thomas Walbon, clerics, a chascun en price de v. virges de violet engrenez, xl! —xx! John Perient, Thomas Walsyngham, Thomas Bolthorp, William Caldwell, et John Waddesworth, escuiers, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, xiiij! —ix! xviiij! ix! a William Bourgchier, Richard Veer, Thomas Beauchamp, Edward Hull, John Norbury, *Johanni Courcy*, Roberte Seint-Johan, et Hugh Malet, henxmen de la Roynne, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, et un furre de noir agnelx, ovesque le faisour de sa robe, xv! viij! —vij! iiiij!

“(In dorso.) xiiij! die Februarij, anno &c nono, concordatum est per consilium, quod sub privato sigillo, fiat garantum prout infra petitur.”

<sup>2</sup> The proverbial cherry-fair, *De Reg.* p. 47, l. 1289, was probably held in town.

<sup>3</sup> Did he see the hunt in 146/184-7 below!

doubt jetted along the Strand in fine weather in the fashionable wide-sleeved cloak of the time,<sup>1</sup> down to the Privy-Seal Office in the Palace at Westminster, where he would see the Prince of Wales and the nobles he mentions in his works, and have a chance of talking to them. As the Strand wasn't paved till 1533, in winter the way was deep (31/193), and Hoccleve took a boat from Chester's Inn (Somerset House) to Westminster, and there worked more or less. When young, he was free with his money, stuff and drank at the cook-shops and taverns at Westminster—paying whatever was asked (p. 30-1)—and instead of going back to the office<sup>2</sup> after dinner, went for an outing on the river (31/190). The watermen, seeing he was weak, called him "Maister" (31/201), which tickled his vanity—it was a term applied only to gentlemen<sup>3</sup>—and drew money from him. Then he'd adjourn to Paul's Head Tavern, close to the Cathedral, where he'd treat and kiss the girls, or to his Dinner Club in the Temple, and either at one of these places, or in his rooms at Chester's Inn, sit up drinking all night (p. 34-5, st. 39), and be loth to rise in the morning (p. 35, st. 40). And so the fun went on, as long as Hoccleve had, or could borrow, money (36/369). Then came illness and debt. His rents but £4 a year (*De Reg.*), his earnings nothing (36/364-5), his pension in arrear, and his salary too. A bad look-out. To improve it, he drifted into marriage, and his only prospect was to trot to Newgate (62/8), beg, steal, or starve (*De Reg.* 65/1802). He was ashamed to beg; he wouldn't steal; so he wisht to die (*ibid.* 65/1808). When the old Beggar in *De Regimine* reproached him for not being content with £4 a year, which would find him in food, drink, and clothes (*De Reg.* 44/1217), he had to own to a wife—"Towe on my dystaf have I for to spyinne" (*ibid.* 45/1226 ;

<sup>1</sup> The old Beggar says to Hoccleve :

"I . . . not so wide a gowne have as is thyne,  
So smalle y-pynched, and so fresshe and gay."—

*De Reg.*, p. 15, l. 409-10.

<sup>2</sup> "Hoom to the priuce seel," he says 31/188, but I suppose that "hoom" means back, and does not imply that Hoccleve had rooms in the Palace.

<sup>3</sup> See Harrison's *England*, p. 129, of my edition for the New Shakspeare Society. I recollect a little Oxford man in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who was always comforted by the cabmen calling him "Captain" when he was on the look-out for a cab: "it shows they think I'm a gentleman."

53/1458), and that the fear of poverty made him sad (*De Reg.* 42/1244). He alludes twice in his *De Reg.* to his poor cottage, 34/940, "Whan that I at home dwelle in my poore cote"; and 31/842-7:

"Servise, I wote wele, is none heritage;                   841  
     Whan I am out of court another day,  
 (As I mote whan upone me hastethe age,  
     And that I no lenger laboure may,)  
     Unto my poore cote—it is no nay—                   845  
     I mote me drawe, and my fortune abide,  
     And suffre the storme after the mery tide. 847

As to the relations between Hoccleve and his wife, they were, I suspect—tho she was kind to him during his illness, p. 154, st. 57, and xxiii above—like those between Chaucer and his wife, only much more so. They are shown in the 104th stanza of the *Dialog*, p. 136 below, where the poor poet says that, since a woman had such power that she broke the Devil's (or Serpent's) head, it's a trifle to her to break a man's head. Therefore let no husband think it shame tho his wife breaks his head. Her "reason" (instinct) demands power over men; and the Holy Writ says men should have rule over their wives, it is the reverse in fact; a man had better hang up his hatchet and sit down. Our fathers had to do the like (l. 748-9). Hoccleve was surely meant by nature to be under his wife's thumb, but couldn't take it out of her in chaff, as Chaucer did out of his. Mrs. Chaucer, however, wouldn't dare take such liberties with her husband as Mrs. Hoccleve would with hers. He evidently knew too what a wash at home was, 139/826.

Still, our master Chaucer tells us by the mouth of the Wife of Bath, that a woman's rule of her husband is compatible with kindness to him:

And whan that I / hadde geten vnto me,  
 By maistrie / al the soueraynetee,  
 And that he seyde / "myn owene trewe wyf,  
 Do as thee lust / to terme of al thy lyf;  
 Keepe thyn honour / and keepe eek myn estaat";  
 After that day / we hadden neuer debaat:  
 God help me so / I was to hym as kynde  
 As any wyf / from Denmark vnto Ynde,  
 And also trewe / and so was he to me.

*Wife's Preamble*, D, § 1, 817-825. Ellesmere MS, p. 190; Six-Text, p. 357. See, too, l. 1230-8 on the like state of things.



The same weak, sensitive, look-on-the-worst side kind of man<sup>1</sup> is shown in his *Complaint* and his *Dialog* with his friend in the Durham MS, below, p. 94-139. And when quite old, Hoccleve is still too vain—proud, he calls it, 51/56-8—to wear spectacles, tho he is losing his sight, and injures it by not using glasses (*ibid.* p. 59-63).

But he has the merit of recognizing his weakness, his folly, and his cowardice. He makes up for these by his sentimental love of the Virgin Mary, his genuine admiration for Chaucer, his denunciation of the extravagant fashions in dress, the neglect of old soldiers, &c.<sup>2</sup> We wish he had been a better poet and a manlier fellow; but all of those who 've made fools of themselves, more or less, in their youth, will feel for the poor old versifier. If he was willing to make amends for his own faults by burning Oldcastle and heretics, and uttering moral precepts, we Radicals and Teetotallers are willing to provide a painless lethal chamber for Lordly and other Tories, and drink-suppliers—after the manner of lost dogs,—and to provide a like

<sup>1</sup> Still, Hoccleve has an occasional touch of humour, as when he says in *De Regimine*,—p. 54, st. 213, Harl. 4866, lf. 27 bk.,—that *Nemo* is the patron who helps his fellows; no one else does:—

“But how ben þi felawës lokyd to 1485  
At homë? ben not thei wel<sup>1</sup> benefised?”

“jis, fader, jis; þer is on clept *Nemo*,  
He helpeþ hem; by hym ben<sup>2</sup> þei chericed. 1489  
Nere he, þey weren porely chevyced;  
He hem auanceth; he fully<sup>3</sup> hir frende is;  
Sauf only hym, þey han but fewe frendes.” 1491

His Roundel to Lady Money in the Ashburnham MS is also humorous; and so is his quiz of his “lady” in the same MS, which Mr. Gollancz kindly lets me print:

“Of my lady, wel me reioise I may:  
Hir golden forheed is ful narw & smal, }  
Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral; }  
And as the leet / hir yen glistren ay. 4 }  
Hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay } Of my lady, &c.  
With large lowes and substancial }  
Hir nose / a pentice is, þat it ne shal }  
Reyne in hir mouth / thogh shee vp-rightes lay. 8 } Of &c.  
Hir mouth is nothyng scant / with lippes gray; }  
Hir chin vnnethe / may be seen at al; }  
Hir comly body / shape as a foot-bal; } Of &c.  
And shee syngith / ful lyke a PapeIay. 12 }

“Item: She hath a sweet mouth,” as is said of Launce’s milkmaid in *The Two Gentlemen*, III. i. 320 (Cambr. ed. 1). <sup>2</sup> Above, p. xxix n.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. hoom ben þey not wel. <sup>2</sup> Harl. omits “ben.” <sup>3</sup> fully Reg., ful Harl.

§ 4. *Some of Hoccleve's Poems. His "Mother of God."* xxxix

serene end for sweaters and anti-Home-Rulers. The mere idea of the thing makes one feel virtuous. There's a good deal of human nature in man. So we'll not throw stones at old Hoccleve.

§ 4. *Comments on some of Hoccleve's poems.* Setting aside the biographical poems, the most interesting question about the others is, did he write *The Mother of God* (p. 52-6 below), which, on the strength of two untrustworthy Scotch MSS, some of us at one time attributed to Chaucer? When I did so, I hadn't seen the Phillipps MS, in which this poem appears in Hoccleve's own hand among the other pieces—undoubtedly his—in the MS. Nor did I then feel the importance of the false ryme in the poem 54/64-6, the verb *honoure* being spelt *honure*, and made to ryme with *cure*,—a ryme which at once caused the German critics to declare that the poem was not Chaucer's. But as soon as I took up the Phillipps MS in Hoccleve's own hand, and then found the two other instances of this *-our -ure* ryme in its Oldcastle poem—to *honure*, wole *endure*, 15/222-4, and *peynture*, *honure* (vb. infin.), *figure*, *creature* 21/410-15, and afterwards, two instances in *De Regimine*—*honoure* (vb. imper.), *scripture*, *creature* 21/569-72; *dishonour[e]* (3 pl. pres.), *cure*, *endure* 85/2368-71, and one in the Durham MS, *pure* adj. *honure* vb. inf. 179/27-8,<sup>1</sup>—I gladly gave up the poem as Chaucer's, and accepted it as Hoccleve's.<sup>2</sup> It was a relief in this way, that the *Mother of God* had no mark or seal of Chaucer on it,<sup>3</sup> and didn't fit properly into the time-order of his works; it had to be stuf in somewhere, so long as it was supposed genuine. On the other hand it seemd too good for Hoccleve, judgd by Wright's print of *De Regimine*, which he took from a second-rate complete MS (Reg. 17 D 6), instead of the better, tho still faulty Harleian 4866, which has

<sup>1</sup> There is at least one more—*scripture*, to *honure*—in the Ashburnham Hoccleve MS, in the first stanza of the "Fabula" of the "De beata Virgine," made at the instance of T. Marleburgh. The MS has not its leaves numberd.

<sup>2</sup> Inside lines he sometimes spells the noun *honur* 24/504, 126/577, 135/821 &c., and the adjective *honorable* 17/275, 128/632, &c. Hoccleve of course found *honur*, *honurer* in Old French, and no doubt often wrote them so himself in the French documents he copied. He has this line in the Ashburnham MS: "Honur hire / if thow wilt honoured be."

<sup>3</sup> The Virgin's *teats* too, in 54/72, didn't look like Chaucer's good taste. Her *paps* appear again in Hoccleve, in 47/112.

xl § 4. *Hoccleve copies Chaucer. His Forms and Metre.*

lost its first leaf<sup>1</sup> and its last. But Hoccleve's poems to the Virgin—poor tho they be—are, I think, better than his other productions, and in the *Mother of God* he undoubtedly did his best.

As the student reads Hoccleve, he will hear many echoes of Chaucer, and uses of his words and phrases.<sup>2</sup> But there is a phrase in *De Regimine* that I don't recollect having seen earlier, the original of our "I told you so!" When the Old Beggar has spent all his coin, the folk who used to flatter and give-in to him, turn on him:—

st. 103, p. 26; Harl. 4866, lf. 13 bk.  
 Now seyn þey þus, "I wistē wel alway 715  
 þat him destroyē wolde his fool largesse;  
*I tolde hym so; and euer he seyde, nay."*  
 And ȝit they lyen al, [a]s God me blesse . . . [MS alt.] 718

I also suppose Hoccleve to be the first user of "know what's what" (138/778, below).<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the oddest word that Hoccleve uses is *delauee*, Fr. *délavé*, 172/901. He repeats it in the Ashburnham MS, "Becam I of my body delauee," in the Answer of Lady Money to Hoccleve. The Virgin is the "*feynter* of wo & stryf," 52/12; "without authority" is "*vnhad* authoritie," 115/135; "a coin-clypper" may appear first in 112/66, and 'kerfe' *sb.* in 185/203. A look thro the Glossary will show a few other unusual words; ordinarily Hoccleve is commonplace.

Of the *Double vowel for length*, Hoccleve is fond, but is not constant to it. On p. 50, l. 25 he has *haast*, in l. 37 *hast*. He has *aart*, *paart* 13/150-2; *paart* 3/104, *aart* 14/196, but *part*, *art* 3/111-12, *art* n. 126/565; *art* vb. 45/75, 46/88, 61/11; *darst* 44/40, *dar* 45/48; *haast* (*hast*) 7/225, 8/7, 9/31, 11/107, 14/200, 50/25, 125/539, 130/670, 131/699, 237/20, &c.; but *hast* 4/123, 47/115,

<sup>1</sup> I expect that the first leaf had an illumination of Hoccleve presenting his MS to the Prince of Wales, and that "Somme Furyows Foole Have Cutt the same" leaf off, as a later hand says of the cut-away portrait of Chaucer on leaf 139 of Harl. MS 4826.

<sup>2</sup> See 6/204, 26/22, 30/159, 37/380, 40/37, 43/18, 67/20, &c., &c.

<sup>3</sup> Isn't Chaucer the first user of "Why" for "Well then"?

"What eyleth yow / to grucche thus and grone?  
 Is it for ye wolde haue my queynte allone?  
*Wy!* taak it al / lo, haue it euery deel!  
 Peter, I shrewe yow / but ye lone it weel."

*Wife of Bath's Preamble*, D, § 1, l. 443-5. Ellesmere MS, p. 179 Six-Text, p. 346.

50/37, 71/122; *haaste* vb. i., 129/646; *haath* 126/557, &c. (but *hath* 8/244, 11/97, 103, 24/508, 65/15-17, 126/570); *maad* 72/151, 130/683, 685, 693; 139/107, &c. (but *made* 56/140, 133/770, 138/59); *taastid* (tasted) 123/485; *tuaste* n. (taste) 7/214, vb. 29/123, *waar* 11/88, 36/351, 129/652, &c.; but *Bewar* 14/193, 130/680; *vwvar* 26/41; *waast* (waste) n. 36/371.

*ee*: *Eeues* (Eve's) 132/722; *cheertee* 48/32, 58/20, 62/7; *eerly* 31/180, 62/21; *forgeete* 68/29; *reedy* (ready) 66/41; *seelden* 30/165; *attempree* 40/13; *beeth* (be ye) 55/127, 58/18; *eerthely* 17/292-7; *eerthe* 55/90; *bleew* 144/240; *knnew* 45/50, 140/128; *kneewen* 31/196; *reewe* 12/131, 38/412, 121/414-15, 141/152; *threew* 140/132; *treewe* 33/273, 34/277, 125/540, 127/598, 134/798, 137/48, 139/92, (but *trewe* 13/163); *treewely* 121/433, 141/158. Other *u* s are: *Reule* vb. 66/66, n. 39/8; *seur* (sure) 35/320, 48/14, 61/7; *Due* adj. 39/440, 61/13; *pured* 44/36.

*oo*: *dooth* imper. 42/32, 43/55; *foorth* 2/60, 27/78, 41/15; *hoolly* 3/112, &c.

*ou*: *doumb* 38/433; *souffyse* 46/100, *souffissance* 51/70; *souffre* 34/288, 40/23, 30; *souffred* 68/51, (but *suffre* 30/151); *souffridist* 54/58, but *soffraunce* 109/384. For *ligh*, he has *hyly* adv. 68/49, on *hy* 1/46, *hy* adj. 39/3, 48/42.

Hoccleve's metre is poor. So long as he can count ten syllables by his fingers, he is content. He rightly apologises in 50/48 for his "Meetrynge amis," and in 57/12-13 for "how vnconnyngly My book is metrid." He constantly thwarts the natural run of his line by putting stress on a word that shouldn't bear it, or using a strong syllable as a weak one—as Browning also often does:

Duély in his conceités balaunce 131/601,  
 Ful many á man / for to taken heede 131/605,  
 Now, good freend / shoue at thé cart, I yow praye 132/617,  
 Right so / let it be bý wrytyfngge amendid 135/700.

He turns the pronoun *hirē* her, into two syllables:

40/24, In preiudice of hire (not "to hire") by no way,  
 141/53, he hirē yaf wordēs confortatyf,  
 143/97, he stired hirē / whan he fond hir soul [alone].

Hoccleve often breaks a measure awkwardly with his pause, as in

xlii § 4. *Hoccleve's Metrical Pause, and e before a Vowel.*

"Wiste I what / good freend / tell on what is best" 129/552.

"Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe" 133/648.

"Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke" 133/654.

"Thou woost wel / on wommen greet wyt & lak" 134/667.

He not only lets the metrical pause stop the cutting-off of a final *e* before a vowel or an *h*, but he keeps the *e* also in other parts of the line :

Wolde god, by my speechë and my sawe 67/21,  
 To helthë him profytë / ne god qweeme 9/40,  
 þat he were of / nat sholdë hardy be 14/189,  
 From þyn Hynessë haue a tokne or tweye 38/419,  
 Of giltes allë haue an excellence 45/61,  
 For our behouë han so mochil wroght 46/98,  
 And werre makë, & sharp résistance 26/51,  
 And thus to crauë / artith me my neede 39/438,  
 Shameth to wernë / as þat I byleue 39/442,  
 With his mouth madë / and off his noblesse 56/130,  
 O ground and rootë of prosperitee 25/2,  
 The hopë of myn exaudicioun 44/30,  
 It for to seruë in his cleer brightnesse 18/308,  
 So mochë is a popes auctoritee 18/315 (? So / moche is /),  
 How þat his gouernancë is despysid 33/275,  
 The gretter needë hath it of his cure 45/67,  
 So largelichë opned is thy syde 3/88,  
 If he take heedë vnto the scripture 32/235,  
 Or take my way / for ferë into France 139/823.

Of the eighteen poems in the Phillipps MS, George Mason printed the six autobiographic ones in 1796 : "Poems by Thomas Hoccleve, never before printed : selected from a MS in the possession of George Mason," &c. They are, (1) p. 15, the "Balade to the Lord Chancellor" (p. 58 below); (2) p. 27, "La Male Regle" (p. 25 below); (3) p. 59, the "Balade and Roundel to Somer" (p. 59-60 below); (4) p. 65, the "Balade to Sir Hy. Somer" (p. 64 below); (5) p. 71, the Balade "Au Roy" (Henry V, p. 62 below); (6) p. 73, the "Balade to my maister Carpenter" (p. 63 below), whom Mason made the Bp. of Worcester, or the Rev. John Carpenter who was afterwards Bp. of Worcester, but whom I make the more probable John Carpenter, the well-known town-clerk and benefactor of London, whose charitable bequest, after having been mainly guzzled or misapplied by the City

Corporation for centuries, was in part used to found the City of London School in 1833.

In 1602 Speght printed, in his second edition of Chaucer's Works, p. 424, Hoccleve's Balade to Henry V and the Knights of the Garter, p. 41 below, under the title of "To the Kings most noble Grace, and to the Lords and Knights of the Garter." It was reprinted in 1687, and by Urry, &c.

In 1614, as noted above, p. xxiv, the poet William Browne reprinted Hoccleve's second *Gesta* story of Fortunatus (p. 214, &c., below) in the first Eglogue of his *Shepherds Pipe*, and W. C. Hazlitt reprinted it in his edition of Browne's Works (Roxburgh Library), ii. 178-196.

Next, about 1625, the Rev. Richard James, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Chr. Coll., Oxford, copied and annotated Hoccleve's Remonstrance with Oldcastle, p. 8 below, and evidently meant to publish it: see "The Legend and Defence of y<sup>e</sup> Noble Knight and Martyr Sir John Oldcastle" in the James MS 34, in the Bodleian, or the Grenville MS 35 in the British Museum. This copy by James—which had mistakes—Dr. Grosart printed, with James's notes and Dedication to Lord Bouchier,<sup>1</sup> in his "Poems &c of Richard James B.D." 1880. Then in 1882 Miss L. T. Smith edited Hoccleve's poem from the Phillippis MS, in *Anglia*, vol. 5, with only three mistakes in the text that need be noted—*notice* for *noyce*, and *love* for *lore*, st. 27, lines 4 and 6; *might* for *naght* in st. 36, line 7—and one in the Latin sidenote to st. 24: she left-out "*vel militaris*" after "*Clericus*." Next to *La Male Regle*, readers will probably be most interested in "The Court of good Company's balade to Sir Hy. Somer," p. 64.

In 1801 Dr. John Leyden printed Hoccleve's *Mother of God*, p. 52-6 below, as Chaucer's, in his edition of the *Complaynt of Scot-*

<sup>1</sup> The Dedication is well known for its defence of Sir John Falstaffe, and its condemnation of Shakspeare's "ignorant shifte of abusing Sir Jhon" by substituting him for Oldcastle whom he had first put into 1 *Henry IV*, because Oldcastle's descendants objected to it. So in the Epilog to 2 *Henry IV*, Shakspeare wrote that he would "continue the Story . . . where Falstaffe shall dye of a sweat . . . For Old-Castle dyed a Martyr, and this is not the man."—See *The Centurie of Praise*, N. Sh. Soc., p. 164-5, 268-9.

*land*,<sup>1</sup> from John of Ireland's MS in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The poem was also printed from Leyden, as Chaucer's, in the First Series of *Notes & Queries*, vol. xii, p. 140-1, Aug. 25, 1855, and by Dr. R. Morris in his Aldine edition of *Chaucer's Poetical Works*, 1866, at the end of vol. vi, from the Bodleian MS Selden B 24. Lastly (woe is me!) I printed it in 1878 from its only three known MSS in the Chaucer Society's Parallel-Texts of the Minor Poems, no. LVII, and separately, in 1880, from the Phillipps MS in no. LXI, "A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems," Part II. Dr. Murray read the copy with the MS for me. The other ten Poems of the Phillipps MS appear for the first time in the present edition.

For the text of "The Letter of Cupid," 1402, p. 72, I must apologize. I forgot to look at my old notes of 1871 for the MSS of it, and used my Fairfax copy without testing it by Shirley's and other MSS. Then I had it collated with these, and Prof. Skeat toucht up the final *e*'s; but still many parts of the text were unsatisfactory, and the stanzas seemd in wrong order. Comparision with Christine de Pisan's original—of which Hoccleve's poem is but an adaptation with changes (see Notes below, p. 243), and to which our good friend Prof. Paul Meyer referd me—showd that the Fairfax man (or an earlier transcriber) had copied from a MS of which the leaves had been shuffled like a pack of cards; and last came Hoccleve's autograph MS of the poem, which Lord Ashburnham has kindly lent to our friend Mr. Israel Gollancz, who will edit it for us. This set the stanzas in right order, and improved the text, tho Mr. Gollancz's edition of it will be better, and of course the standard text.

The Durham MS I first saw in 1871 (?), on my fruitless journey north to try and see Mr. Bowes's Midland MS of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, a MS which has never been heard of since it was in the late J. O. Halliwell's hands for use in his Glossary.<sup>2</sup> Out of this Durham MS some other "Furiows Foole" (p. xl *n.* above) has torn out the first two sheets, *a* and *b* in eights, and the good old tailor-antiquary, John Stowe, has copied a poor text in, on ten leaves of paper. The vellum part, *c—m* in eights, *n* 1—3 (p. 115 below,

<sup>1</sup> E. E. T. Soc., Extra Series, 8, re-edited by Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

<sup>2</sup> He told me that he borrowd it of, and returnd it to, Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

§ 4. Hoccleve's "*Gesta Romanorum*" Stories, and "*Lerne to Dye*." xlv

to the end) is in Hoccleve's hand, and has on the last page his dedication to the Lady Westmorland, followed by his signature: see the Facsimile, with all the later scribbles on it.

On the pathos of the poor sensitive old poet's sufferings under the coldness and suspicions of his former friends, after his madness, I have already remarked. The best parts of the Durham volume are Hoccleve's englishings of the two stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*. The reader will find prose versions of them in the Society's edition by Mr. S. J. Herrtage (Extra Series, 1879, no. 33), at pages 311-22 (*Merelaus*, as *Jereslaus* is there called) and 180-96, the latter from Addit. MS 9066, as well as Shirley's Harleian 7333, copied by Impingham. The Emperor is there called Godfridus. The Latin originals are in Oesterley's 1872 edition of the *Gesta*,—the Wife of the Emperor (or King) Octavianus and her scoundrel brother-in-law, at p. 648-654, cap. 249, app. 53; the Magic Ring, Brooch and Cloth, at p. 466—470, cap. 120 (112), *De mulierum subtili deceptione*. The king's name is Darius; the third son's, Jonathas; the "Puella ejus concubina"—"puella satis formosa"—is unnamed. Hoccleve's englishings and those of the prose *Gesta* should be read together. The whole English *Gesta* was of course printed by the Roxburghe Club in 1838, Sir F. Madden editing; and I printed the prose *Merelaus* for the Chaucer Society in 1872, no. 7 of its Second Series, Part I of the "Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," p. 55-70, in illustration of the Man of Law's Tale of Constance. Of Magic Rings and Gems, Mr. Clouston has an interesting account in my edition of John Lane's "Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale," p. 271, 334-347, 464, and of Magic Carpets at p. 294 (Chaucer Society, 2nd Series, 1890).

Tho I've looked thro the Index *De Morte* (besides others) in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, as well as the Brit. Mus. Class Catalog of MSS about Death, I have failed to find the original of Hoccleve's *Lerne to Dye*. It was, however, that of a prose version (ab. 1430-40) in the Lichfield Cathedral MS 16, which I saw years ago, and which Miss Rosa Elverson has copied out for us. This version is there attributed to St. Anselm (among whose works I can't see it), and is headed "tractatus qui *scitte mori* appellatur." It begins "Sypppe al



maner men desireth by kynde to haue konnyng & knewliche on þe hyze and euerlastyng wysdom," and gives Hoccleve's fourth stanza (p. 179) thus: "First, y schal teche how þou schuldest deye; and aftirward how þou schuldest lyue; and after þat how þou schuldest reseyue me by sacrement; And at þe last, how þou schuldest preysy me bysyli with a clene mynd."

Miss Elverson will edit this prose version for the Society, together with the best known englishing (from the French) of the Latin *Scite Mori*,<sup>1</sup> by John Gerson, properly Jean Charlier, born at Gerson. This is Caxton's "The Art & Crafte to knowe well to dye"—"translated oute of Frensshe into Englysshe by Will<sup>m</sup> Caxton," London, 1490, folio, 13 leaves. Gerson was a contemporary of Hoccleve's, was born in 1363, and died on July 12, 1429, and "is mainly remembered in connection with his efforts to bring about a cessation of the great schism which had divided the (Roman Catholic) church since 1378. His proposal was to depose both the rival popes, and elect a third in their room—a step which was taken by the council held at Pisa in 1409, of which Gerson was a member as deputy of the University of Paris. . . In 1419 he returned to his native country, and spent the last ten years of his life with his brother, the prior of a community of Celestine monks at Lyons, living an ascetic life, and devoting himself to religious meditation and the composition of theological and other treatises."—Blackie's *Cyclopædia*.

In the 1502 edition, printed by Hermann at Cologne, Gerson's tract takes up only 2½ pages, and begins:

¶ Johannes Gerson de Scientia bone mortis. Si veraces fidelesque amici cuiuspiam egroti curam diligentius agant, pro ipsius vita corporali fragili & defectibili conseruanda, exigunt a nobis multo fortius deus & caritas pro salute sua spirituali sollicitudineꝝ gerere spiritualeꝝ. In hac enim extrema mortis necessitate, fidelis probatur amicus . . .

¶ Prima pars continet quatuor exhortationes. ¶ Prima exhortatio est, "Amice dilecte aut dilecta, considera nos omnes subiectos esse potenti manu dei, & ipsius voluntati omnes nos, cuiuscunque conditionis aut status, reges, principes, aut diuites & pauperes, mortis tributum soluere necesse est . . . [end of Part 4] Hinc expediens videtur, vt in quibuslibet pauperum hospitalibus vel domibus dei statuto firmaretur, ne quis ibidem eger suscipi posset, qui non primo ingressus die confessionem faceret, vel ydoneo sacerdoti ad hoc ipsum

<sup>1</sup> The Addit. MS 15, 105 in the Brit. Mus. is: "Tractatulus vtilissimus de arte bene moriendi, doctoris Iacobi Carthusienstium prope Staffordiam, Incipit: 'Omnes morimur, et quasi aqua dilabimur in terram.'"

deputato, paratus confiteri se continuo penitaret, sicut in domo dei Parisiensi laudabiliter obseruatur &c. Finit.

§ 5. The writing of these Forewords takes me back nearly ten years, to the time when the Phillipps MS was copied, the autumn of 1882. After a visit to my fellow-Shakspeare-editor, Mr. W. G. Stone, at his peaceful home at Walditch near Bridport, I went across to work at MSS at Cheltenham, and to stop with the family of a young-lady lover of Shakspeare and Browning, who had been helpt by my Introduction to the Leopold Shakspeare and had written to me. Daily, after my work at the Hoccleve and Chaucer MSS in the Phillipps collection at Thirlestaine House, my gifted and sweet-sould young friend took me for one of the pretty walks round the town, sometimes through level meads, sometimes through Lackington churchyard, or by other paths to the Cotswold Hills,<sup>1</sup> talking of the writers and people she honourd, telling me of her Indian life, her work at Cheltenham College, and in the evening singing me favourite songs, such as I named in my Forewords to the "Earliest English Wills" (E. E. T. Soc., 1882, no. 78), last page. A pleasant time it was; and little did I then think that the happy and brilliant future which I lookt forward to for my young friend would be so soon ended by her sad burning, and her death a week after, on Sept. 4, 1883. The pain of that has now past, and the pleasure of the friendship remains. It mingles in my mind with the delightful summer Saturday afternoons and Sundays<sup>2</sup> last season on the river, when we dined on the bank opposite Hampton Court and teaed on Tatham's island—we, learned friends,<sup>3</sup> gentle women, nice girls, and darling children, with their pretty ways and eager "Oh, Doctor,

<sup>1</sup> On one walk there, during a later short visit, the local hunt came on to the Hills; and very pretty it was to see the hounds searching the undergrowth while the red-coats watcht them, but no fox turnd out to give them a run.

<sup>2</sup> How different it was yesterday, in our narrow sculling-four!—dull sky, bare banks, hardly a boat to be seen; no fire in the lunch-room at Eelpie Island, keen cold wind for our run and walk on the bank, and dead against us all the way down. But still enjoyable, and the spurt enlivening.

<sup>3</sup> And—talk of golden garters!—did not one man famous for folk-lore, fairies, philosophy, Hebrew, and all sorts of other things, sheen in the sunlight, when he peeld to scull bow down-stream, and disclosed to our astonisht eyes, a cream silk shirt! Could luxury further go!

I can pull *two* now. You come and see me! Mother, you come too!" "May we children have the boat *all* to ourselves? None of you grown-ups. *We* can manage her, &c. &c." Bless em all! I find life worth living. Don't you? Specially when you have an old randan and can tow and scull. (Don't mention the washing-up after picnic meals.) Well, the Phillipps copy was set, and ought to have been issued in 1883; but I kept it back till I could complete, or get completed, the copy of part of the Durham MS which some good friend had transcribed for me years before. At last, after borrowing the MS twice, by forbearing Mr. Fowler's indulgence, this was managed. And here the Text at last is, as the foregoer, I trust, of Mr. Gollancz's edition of the Ashburnham Minor Poems, and a Text of *The Regement of Princes*, when I can find out the best MS of it.<sup>1</sup> If any one will volunteer for the editing of this poem, it shall be committed to his charge, for I haven't time for it. Still, if no one else will do it, I will. My Circular proposing the "Lydgate and Occeleve Society" (in Ellesmere MS, Pt. IV) is dated 14 March, 1872, and says, "From the amount of work before the Early English Text Society, it is clear that they cannot hope to print Lydgate's and Occeleve's Works for something like 20 years, though these works are wanted by students at once . . . I can do Occeleve's;" and I promist that the first MS printed of him should be the Durham one of the *Complaint*, &c., printed below. But not half of the 150 men I wanted for a start, agreed to join, and so the Society never was. Still, 1892 sees a book by Lydgate and one by Hoccleve issued by the Early English Text Society, and others will follow. I feel bound to try and see Hoccleve cleared, and Lydgate well started, before I die.

I say thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Smith—who have long since returned to India,—to Mr. Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, Mr. Fowler of Bp. Hatfield's Hall, Durham, to Norroy,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. B. Rogers at Cambridge, and Miss A. F. Parker at Oxford, have examined for the Society all the *Regement* MSS with our facsimile page in the present volume, to see if any has Hoccleve's most frequent *w*, and they have copied from every MS the three Chaucer stanzas p. xxxii-iii above, "The firste finder of our faire langage," &c., as a sample of each. We can thus tell which are best worth collating further, if no autograph MS is hereafter found.

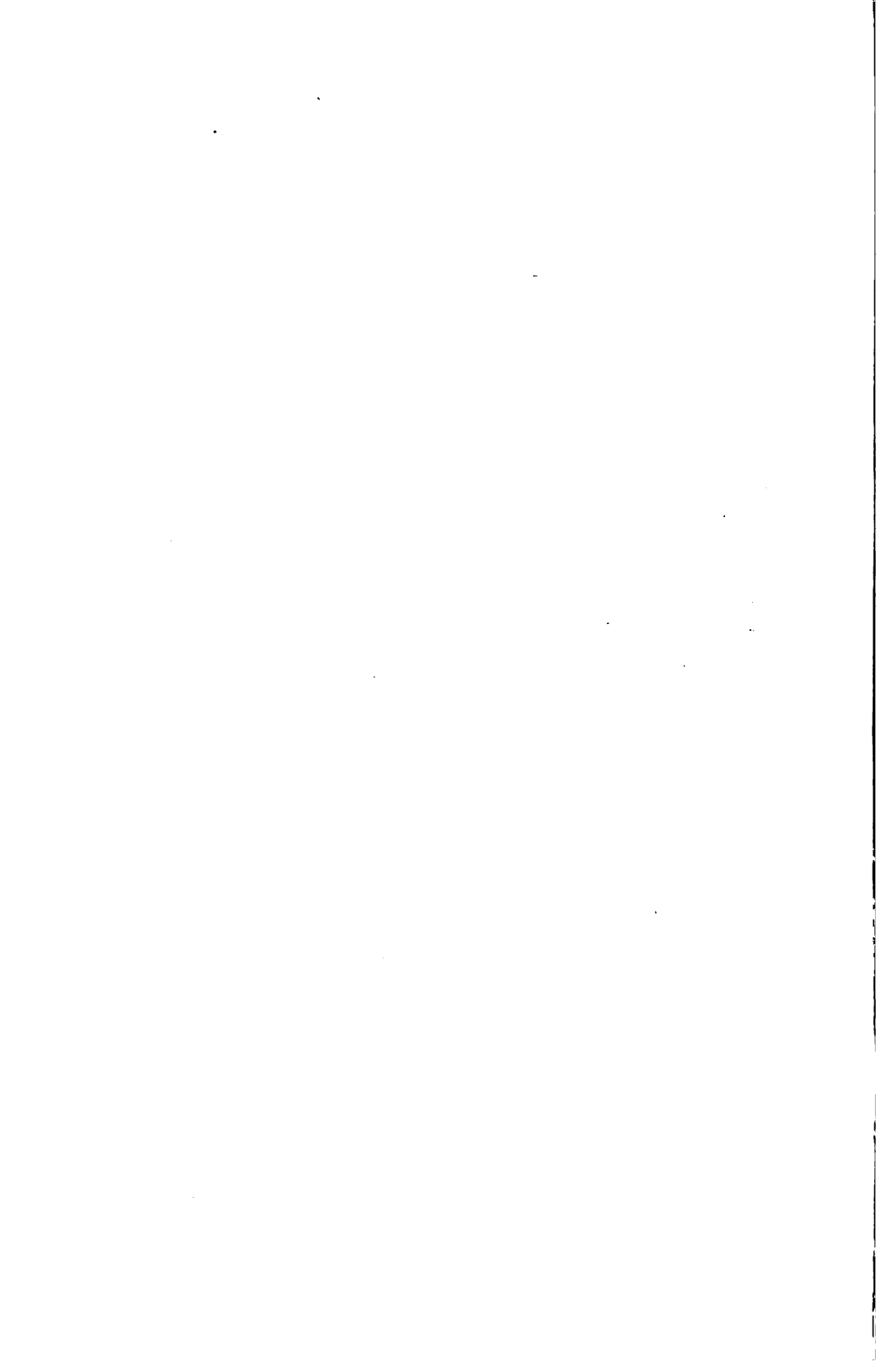
§ 5. *Thanks to Helpers. P.S. Are the MSS. autograph.* xlix

Mr. Horace Round, Prof. Skeat (for looking after the final *es*, &c.), Mr. R. G. Kirk, and all other helpers, including our collators Mr. Rogers and Miss Parker, and Mr. Thomas Austin, who cut down the Oxford collations to the *Cupid*, and has made the Index and Glossary.

*British Museum, Monday, 29 Feb. 1892,  
7.30 p.m., under the electric light.*

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P.S. 28 July 1892. After seeing how many carelessnesses there are in the three MSS I have put down as Hoccleve's autograph ones, I am obliged to doubt his having written them; and I take refuge in the conclusion that the larger writing of these MSS is more probably that of his clerk John Welde, or some like man, and that the closer writing of his Dedication to Lady Westmorland, at the foot of the facsimile, is alone in Hoccleve's own hand.



## APPENDIX OF HOCCLEVE DOCUMENTS,

COPIED FROM THE RECORD OFFICE  
BY MR. R. E. G. KIRK.

## I.

12 Nov. 1399. Grant of £10 a year to Hoccleve for life, or until he gets a benefice of £20 a year.

[Patent Roll, 1 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 21.]

*Pro Thoma Hoccleue.*

*Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili servicio quod dilectus serviens noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impendit, et impendet infuturum, concessimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones, ad terminum vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos fuerit promotus. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xij die Nouembris.*

*Per breue de priuati sigillo.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1399. The Pells Issue Roll for Michaelmas 1 Henry IV., 1399, has no mention of Hoccleve.

1400. Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry IV. This roll does not contain any payment to Hoccleve.

On membranes 3 and 10, and at the end, there are payments to Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Keeper of the Priuy Seal*, at the rate of 20s. a day, for his wages (*vadiis*). It is also stated, on m. 1, that King Richard II. owed him £200.

Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Junior*, was Keeper of the Wardrobe of Isabella, late Queen of England; 5 August.

On m. 6 there is a payment to Geoffrey Chaucer of part of the annuity of £20 granted him by Ric. II., and confirmed by Henry IV. This is printed by Sir Harris Nicolas: see *Chaucer's Poet. Works*, ed. Morris, 1866, i. 107.

For the good service of Thos. Hoccleve, one of our Priuy-Seal clerks,

We (Henry IV) have granted him

£10 a year

for his life, or until we promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice (without cure of souls) worth £20 a year. 12 Nov. 1399.

II.

13 Dec. 1400. First Payment to Hoccleve of £8 15s. 3*d.*, being so much of his £10 Annuity, granted on Nov. 12, 1399, as was due at Michs. 1400.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 2 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xiiij<sup>o</sup> die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve, to whom, on 12 Nov. 1399, Hen. IV. granted £10 a year

for his good service,—in money paid by assignment,

for the time from 12 Nov. 1399 to

Michs. 1400.

£8. 15s. 3*d.*

Thome Hoccleue, cui Dominus Rex nunc, xij<sup>o</sup> die Nouembris proximo preterito,<sup>1</sup> x. li. annuas, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis, per assignacionem factam<sup>2</sup> isto die, in persolucionem viij. li. xv. s. iij. d. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, tam pro rata a predicto xij<sup>o</sup> die Nouembris, vsque vltimum diem Marcij tunc proximum sequentem, per [blank] dies, vltimo die et non primo computato, quam pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue suum de liberate hoc termino. . . . viij. li. xv. s. iij. d.<sup>3</sup>

III.

29 Nov. 1401.  
£5 to Michs.

Michs. 3 Henry IV., 1401. This Roll contains a payment for the half year of 100*s.* on Tuesday, 29 November; m. 11.

<sup>1</sup> That is, "last past" before Michaelmas day.

<sup>2</sup> "*assignatio facta*;" ab. 1400-24. In later times the word "assignment" was used in the Exchequer in two senses—first, as an assignment on a particular fund or branch of the revenue; secondly, as an assignment or transfer of an annuity by the grantee to some other person; but the former seems to be the meaning in the entries relating to Hoccleve. Almost the last entry I found, throws light on this point: it states that Hoccleve had an assignment for the larger portion of his annuity, and that only a small sum was paid to him "*in money*." So that when he was paid "by assignment," which was not always the case, he may not have received the amounts on the days specified in the rolls, if the revenues on which he had his assignments had not come in; but there are no records which would help to elucidate this question. It is probable however that the assignment would not be made till the revenues were actually in hand.

<sup>3</sup> There is a duplicate of this roll; but the roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV., 1401, is wanting, and there is no Auditors' or Tellers' Roll for that term.

## IV. a.

26 April, 1402. Payment to Hoccleve of £5, his half-year's Annuity to Easter, 1402.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Henry IV.]

Die Mercurii, xxvj. die Aprilis.

Thome Hoccleue, clerico, cui Dominus Rex nunc x li. annuas ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruiicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, per assignacionem factam isto die, in persolucionem C. s. sibi liberandorum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito per breue suum etc. . . . . C. s.

**Thomas Hoccleue.**  
To whom Henry IV. granted £10 a year for his life:—

In money paid to him

to Easter 1402, £5.

## IV. b.

In the next roll, Michs. 4 Henry IV., 1402, there is a payment to Thomas Occlive of 4<sup>l</sup>. 18<sup>s</sup>. 9<sup>d</sup>., part of 100<sup>s</sup>., on Thursday, 7 December. (It is not stated why he was mulcted in 1<sup>s</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>.)<sup>1</sup>

7 Dec. 1402.  
£4 18s. 9d.  
to Michs. 1402.

## V.

15 Oct. 1403. Payment to Hoccleve of £9, his year's Annuity, less £1 which he gives up to get the £9.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 5 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xv<sup>o</sup> die Octobris.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Rex nunc x. li. annuas, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruiicio per ipsum de longo tempore in officio predicto impenso et impendendo, vel quousque idem Thomas ad beneficium ecclesiasticum sine cura valoris xx. li. annuarum fuerit promotus, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x. li. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro terminis Pasche et

**Thomas Hoccleue.**  
To whom (as a Privy-Seal clerk) Hen. IV. granted £10 a year for his life (for his long services in the Privy-Seal Office) till he should get a benefice of £20 a year without cure of souls,— in money paid to him for and to Easter

<sup>1</sup> The roll for Easter, 4 Hen. IV., 1403, does not contain any payment to Hoccleve, who seems to have allowed it to get in arrears. The Auditors' and Tellers' Rolls do not help. See next entry.



and Michaelmas  
1405,  
less 20s. which  
he gives up to  
the King  
in order to get the  
remaining £9,—  
£9.

*Sancti Michaelis ultimo preteritis, deductis vero xx. s. quos dictus Thomas, de sua mera et spontanea voluntate, remisit et relaxavit dicto Domino Regi, pro solutione habenda de ix. li. residuis, per breve de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . ix. li.*

## VI.

6 March 1404.  
£5 in advance,  
due at Easter.

On the same Roll, under date of Thursday, 6 March [1404], there is another payment of 100<sup>s</sup>. to Thomas Occlve for the Easter term *following*; i. e. in advance.<sup>1</sup>

## VII.

26 March 1406.  
£5 to Michs. 1405.

The roll for Michaelmas, 7 Henry IV., 1405, contains the usual payment of 100<sup>s</sup>. to "Thomas Occliff, Clerk," on Friday, 26 March 1406.

## VIII.

15 May 1406.  
£5 to Easter.

The roll for Easter, 7 Henry IV., 1406, also contains the usual entry for the half-yearly payment of Hoccleve's 100<sup>s</sup> to Easter 1406, on Thursday, 13 May.

<sup>1</sup> The roll for Easter is wanting, but probably contained no payment to Hoccleve.

In the Auditors' Issue Roll, Easter, 5 Hen. IV., A. D. 1404, there are two payments to . . . Bliith, "pergamenarius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "tam pro officio priuati sigilli [et] duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario quam pro Recepta eiusdem."

(In the roll for Easter, 12 Ric. II., these offices are described thus: "tam pro expensis officij de priuato sigillo Regis quam duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario et pro Recepta eiusdem Scaccarij.")

John Burgh, who is mentioned in a subsequent payment to Hoccleve, is here described as "one of the Clerks of the Receipt" [of the Exchequer], and as having an annuity of £20 by grant of Richard II., confirmed by Henry IV. This roll is very much decayed and damaged, and, as expected, there is no payment to Hoccleve, but there is a similar payment to some one else, whose name is lost, under a grant of Ric. II. There are no Tellers' Rolls for Easter or Trinity.

The three sets of rolls for Michaelmas, 6 Henry IV., 1404, and Easter, 6 Henry IV., 1405, contain no payments to Hoccleve. (Could he not get, or did he forego, payment?)

In the Michaelmas roll there is a note that Thomas, Lord of Furnyvall, the Lord Treasurer, "began in the second part" of this term; his first date being 13th December. In the Easter roll, Thomas Langley, clerk, Keeper of the Privy Seal, is entered as receiving 20s. a day, as other Keepers had done before him, "until order should be taken for his continual dwelling within the King's household"; but on 1st March he was "exonerated" from the office. John Wisbech, his clerk, is mentioned in the Tellers' Roll.

IX.

14 Aug. 1406. Payment to Hoccleve of  
£3 — 8*d.* for parchment, ink, & red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Henry IV.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij. die Augusti.

<p>Thome Occlieue, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in <i>persolucionem</i> lx. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit pro pergameno, incausto, [et] cera rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus dicti Domini Regis emptis, in officio predicto; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . lx. s. viij. d.</p>	<p>To Thos. Hoccleue, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office,  for parchment, ink &amp; red wax, bought for the Office,  £3. — 8<i>d.</i></p>
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X.

The Auditors' Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 8 Henry IV., 1406, contains no payment to Hoccleve; but the Tellers' Roll has the following note: "Thome Occlie [sic], de x. li. annuis, per manus proprias, C. s."

. . . 1406  
£5 to Michs. 1406.

XI.

The Roll next quoted contains the usual payment of Hoccleve's 100s. half-yearly, on Saturday, 12 June.

12 June 1407.  
£5 to Easter.

XII.

15 July 1407. Payment to Hoccleve of  
£3 6*s.* 8*d.* out of £7 9*s.* 10½*d.* due to him for parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 8 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris xv. die Julij.

<p>Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in partem solucionis vij li. ix<i>s.</i> x<i>d.</i> ob. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit, pro pergameno, incausto, cera rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus Regis emptis, et in dicto officio a xxvij<sup>o</sup> die Marcij anno vij<sup>o</sup> Regis huius hucusque expenditis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino lxvj. s. viij. d.</p>	<p><b>Thomas Hoccleue.</b> To him, a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, in part payment of 27 9<i>s.</i> 10½<i>d.</i> for parchment, ink, and red wax, from March 27, 1406 to July 15, 1407. £3 6<i>s.</i> 8<i>d.</i></p>
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XIII.

16 Jan. 1408. Payment to Hoccleve of £4 3s. 2½*d.* on account for 16 months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Auditors' Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. IV.]

Tuesday, 16 Jan. 1408.

24 3s. 2½*d.*

for parchment,  
from 27 March  
1406 to 12 July  
1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occeleve, clerk," of 4*l.* 3*s.* 2½*d.* (part of a larger sum of 7*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, from 27 March, 7 Hen. IV. (1406) to 12 July, 8 Hen. IV. (1407), by the King's command.

XIV.

4 Feb. 1408.

Saturday, 4 Feb. 1408.

Half-yearly 25  
to Michs. 1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occlve, clerk," of 100*s.* for Michaelmas term, by his own hands.<sup>1</sup>

XV.

7 July 1408.  
25 to Easter.

Easter, 9 Henry IV., 1408. Saturday, 7 July. To "Thomas Hocclyve Clerk," 100*s.*

XVI.

13 Feb. 1409.  
25 to Michs.

Michs. 10 Henry IV., 1408. Wednesday, 13 February, 1409. To Thomas Occliff', 100*s.*

XVII.

17 May 1409. Grant of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year from Michs. 1408, to Hoccleve, instead of his former yearly £10.

[Patent Roll, 10 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 24.]

*Pro* Thoma Hoccleue.

On Nov. 12, 1399,  
on account of the  
good service of  
Thos. Hoccleve,  
one of our Privy-  
Seal clerks,

we granted him  
210 a year

*Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod cum duodecimo die Nouembris, anno regni nostri primo, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruiicio quod dilectus seruiens noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impenderat, et extunc impenderet: concesserimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti*

<sup>1</sup> These were not found on the Pells Issue Roll, which is incomplete.

Michaelis, per equales porciones, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos foret promotus, prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; Nos, de vberiori gracia nostra ac in recompensacionem dicti seruicij sui, pro eo quod idem Thomas, dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus ei viginti marcas, percipiendas ad dictum Scaccarium nostrum, a festo Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij<sup>1</sup> die Maij.

for his life, or till we should promote him to a benefice worth £20 a year.

As Hoccleve has returned this grant to be cancelled, we grant him 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, from Michaelmas, 1408.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XVIII.

23 May 1409. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve of £6 13s. 4d. in respect of his fresh annuity of £13 6s. 8d.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris, xxij<sup>o</sup> die Maij.

Thome Occluyue, cui Dominus Rex nunc x.li. [*for xx marcas*] singulis annis, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum<sup>2</sup> sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiii.d.<sup>2</sup>

To Thos. Hoccleve,

in money paid to him,

for his  $\frac{1}{2}$  year's annuity to last Easter, £6 13s. 4d.

XIX.

Michs. 11 Hen. IV., 22 Nov. 1409. Thomas Occliff or Occliff<sup>1</sup> (no further description), £6 13s. 4d. The King had granted him *ten pounds* [for 20 marks] a year for life, for his good service, by letters patent. (Master John Prophete is Keeper of the Privy Seal.)

22 Nov. 1409. £6 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.

<sup>1</sup> xvij is written on an erasure.

<sup>2</sup> These sums are written on erasures, the amount having probably been originally written "C. s."; but the scribe omitted to alter the "x. li." at the beginning.

XX.

23 June, 1410. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 2s. 2*d.* for 14 months' ink, wax, and parchment.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 11 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xxij die Junij.

**Thomas**

**Hoccleue.**

To him, in money by the hands of Jn. Welde, for ink, parchment, and red wax, from 21 Feb. 1409 to 24 April 1410, £1 2s. 2*d.*

Thome Hoccleue, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Welct,<sup>1</sup> in persolucionem xxij.s. ij.d. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit pro incausto, pergamento, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis et expendendis in officio predicto, videlicet, a xxj<sup>o</sup> die Februarij anno x<sup>o</sup>, vsque xxiiij<sup>to</sup> diem Aprilis anno xj<sup>o</sup> vltimo preterito, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xxij.s. ij.d.

XXI.

17 July 1410.  
26 13s. 4*d.* to  
Easter.

Easter, 11 Hen. IV. Thursday, 17 July. Thomas Hoccliff. The King had granted him 20 marks [13<sup>l</sup>. 6<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>.] a year for life, by letters patent, payable half-yearly. (He is not called Clerk here. There is no payment to him for Michaelmas, 12 Hen. IV., A.D. 1410, either in the Pells or the Auditors' Roll.)

XXII.

8 July 1411.  
26 13s. 4*d.* to  
Michaelmas 1410.

1411, Easter,<sup>2</sup> 12 Hen. IV., 8 July. To Thomas Hoccliff<sup>3</sup> (or Hoccliff<sup>3</sup>), one of the Clerks, &c., 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>.

XXIII.

26 Feb. 1412,  
£13 6s. 8*d.*, 1 year  
to Michs. 1411.

Michs. 13 Hen. IV. (1411), 26 Feb. 1412, Friday. To Thomas Occlive (or Occliff<sup>3</sup>), one, &c., 13<sup>l</sup> 6<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last. This payment is also recorded in the Tellers' Roll for Hilary, 13 Hen. IV.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Weld is afterwards described as Hoccleve's clerk. A John Wold or Wolde was keeper of the King's lions and leopards in the Tower of London; Mich., 10 Hen. IV., *et ante*.

<sup>2</sup> This, tho' call'd an Easter payment, was no doubt for Michs. 1410—see last entry, as the next payment is for the whole year 1411 (see XXVI). If not, Hoccleve was paid twice over for Easter 1411.

<sup>3</sup> 1412, Easter, 13 Hen. IV. The Pells Issue Roll is wanting. The Auditors' Issue Roll and the Tellers' Roll are also wanting. 1412, Michs. 14 Hen. IV. No payment found. The Pells Roll seems to be imperfect, the first date being 25 January. There is no Auditors' Roll, but there is a Tellers' Roll for Michaelmas. (*See extract.*)

XXIV.

5 Nov. 1412. Payment to Hoccleve of 32s. for parchment and ink.

[Tellers' Roll, Michs. 14 Hen. IV.]

Die Saboti, quinto die Nouembris.

[It is somewhat doubtful whether this date applies to the following entry.]

Thome Hocclyffe, per manus Johannis Weld', pro pergamenio et incausto emptis in officio Custodis priuati sigilli . . . . . xxxij.s.<sup>1</sup>

To T. Hoccleve for ink &c., 32s.

XXV.

28 Sept. 1413. Inspeximus and Confirmation by Henry V. of Hoccleve's Annuity of £13 6s. 8d., with the arrears from Michs. 1412.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., part 4, membrane 25.]

De confirmacione—Hoccleue.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie factas in hec verba. Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos [etc. as in the Patent Roll of 10 Henry IV., 17 May, 1409, p. liv, above] . . . . .

We have seen our late Father's

grant of £13 6s. 8d. a year to Thos. Hoccleve,

Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, decimo septimo die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo. Nos autem, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono seruicio nobis per prefatum Thomam impenso et impendendo, concessi- onem predictam, ac omnia et singula in literis predictis contenta, rata habentes et grata, ea pro nobis et heredi- bus nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approba- mus, et prefato Thome, tenore presencium, concedimus et confirmamus, prout litere predictae racionabiliter tes- tantur. Ita semper quod idem Thomas, pro termino

on 17 May 1409;

and on account of Hoccleve's good service to us,

we approve and confirm to him the said Grant,

<sup>1</sup> There is also a payment to Thomas, late Lord of Furnyvall, and Sir John Pelham, late Treasurers of the Wars; also two payments to Walter Lucy for parchment for the Receipt of the Exchequer and the Privy-Seal Office. There is no reference to Hoccleve's annuity. The roll for Hilary term following is wanting. It may have been in that. The roll for Easter 1 Henry V., 1413, omits all reference to Hoccleve, because the annuity had not then been confirmed by the new King.

provided the said Hoccleve is not retained by any one else. And we also grant him the arrears of his said Annuity since last Michaelmas, 1412. Given 28 Sept. 1413.

vite sue, cum aliquo alio preterquam nobiscum non retineatur. Et ulterius, de vberiori gracia nostra, concessimus prefato Thome, id quod ei aretro est de annuitate sua predicta, a festo Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, habendum de dono nostro. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxviij die Septembris. Per breue de priuato sigillo.

## XXVI.

1 Dec. 1413. Payment to Hoccleve of a year's arrear of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. to Michs. 1413.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V.]

Die Veneris, primo die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve, — a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year,

which was confirmed by Henry V. on 28 Sept. last — in money paid to him,

for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last,

£13 6s. 8d.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Henricus, nuper Rex Anglie, xx marcus annuas ad Scaccarium suum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Rex nunc, xxviij<sup>o</sup> die Septembris proximo preterito, confirmavit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xx marcarum, quas idem Dominus Rex nunc de vberiore gracia sua liberare mandauit, habendas de dono suo pro arreragijs annuitatis predicte, videlicet pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis vltimis preteritis, per breue suum de liberate inter mandatu de hoc termino. xiiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.<sup>1</sup>

## XXVII.

17 Jan. 1414. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 6s. 8d., for nine months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 2 Hen. V.]

Die Jouis, xvij<sup>o</sup> die Januarij.

To Thos. Oocleve, paid by the hands of his clerk, Jn. Welde,

Thome Ooclyffe, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis, per manus Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, in persolucionem xxvj. s. viij. d. quos

<sup>1</sup> Master John Prophete is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, and receives "wages and fees," at the rate of 20<sup>s</sup>. a day. A payment to John Welde and five companions in the Privy-Seal Office, for copying out old "truces" with foreign countries, at the rate of 6s. 8d. to each, is quoted in Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 331.

*Dominus Rex eidem Thome liberare mandavit, pro pergameno, incausto, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis, et expeditis*<sup>1</sup> *in officio priuati sigilli dicti Domini Regis, videlicet, a quinto die Marcij vltimo preterito, vsque xiiij diem Decembris extunc proxime sequentem; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino*  
 xxvj s. viij d.

for parchment, ink, and red wax, expended in the Office, from 5 March 1413, to 13 Dec.

26s. 8d.

XXVIII.

1414, Easter, 2 Hen. V. 2 May, Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one &c. 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>.  
 [Thomas Chaucers, Esquire (scutifer), was sent to the Dukes of Burgundy & Holland.]

2 May 1414.  
 26 13s. 4d.  
 to Easter.

XXIX.

1415, Easter, 3 Hen. V. No payment on the Pells Roll. No Auditors' Roll. (A William Hokhyrst is mentioned.) The payment seems however to have been made, as the Tellers' Roll for Trinity, 3 Henry V., contains the following undated entry—  
 "Thome Occleve, de certo suo annuo . x. marce."

... 1415.  
 26 13s. 4d.  
 to Easter 1415.

XXX.

1415, Mich., 3 Hen. V. 29 Feb., 1416, Saturday. "To Thomas Hoccleve, one of the Clerks of the Lord the King of the Office of his Privy Seal," for Michaelmas, 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. (This is a fuller description than usual.)

29 Feb. 1416.  
 26 13s. 4d.  
 to Michs. 1415.

XXXI.

18 July, 1416. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve by 3 instalments, through friends, of £6 13s. 4d. to Easter, with 13s. 4d. on loan.

Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 4 Hen. V.

Die Sabbati, xviiij<sup>o</sup> die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, cui *Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Domini Regis nunc, xx marcas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones per-*

Thomas Occleue.  
 To him, a Clerk of the Privy-Seal Office,

<sup>1</sup> Expenditis, for expensis.



paid thro'  
Jn. Burgh £2,  
thro' Rob.  
Welton, 6s. 8d.,  
thro' Jn. Welde,  
Hoccleve's clerk,  
£4 6s. 8d.,  
to Easter, 1416,

£6 13s. 4d.,

and thro'  
Jn. Welde,  
as a loan, 13s. 4d.

cupiendas, per literas suas concessit,—quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit:—In denarijs sibi liberatis, videlicet, per manus Johannis Burgh,<sup>1</sup> xl. s.; per manus Roberti Welton,<sup>2</sup> vj. s. viij. d.; et per manus Johannis Welde,<sup>3</sup> Clerici sui, iiij. li. vj. s. viiij. d., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . vj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d. Eidem Thome, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus predicti Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, de prestito super huiusmodi certo suo . . . . . xiiij. s. iiij. d. vnde

Respondebit.

### XXXII.

14 Feb. 1417. Payment to Hoccleve of  
£2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 4 Hen. V.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij<sup>o</sup> die Februarij.

To him, thro'  
Jn. Welde, his  
clerk,

for ink and red  
wax, bought of  
Walter Lucy,

Thome [Hoccleve<sup>4</sup>], vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Welde,<sup>5</sup> clerici sui, in persolucionem xlvj. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandauit, pro incausto et cera rubia per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy, haberdassher, London', et inter xvj diem

<sup>1</sup> John Burgh, "Esquire," is still mentioned on m. 9 as receiving an annuity of 20*l.* under a grant of Richard II; see p. lii.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Welton is also mentioned on this Roll, m. 9 and 14, as one of the Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer. He had an annuity of 20*l.* by grant of Henry IV., and had been sent to Boston and Hull to oversee the customers [receivers of customs-dues], and ascertain the amounts of their receipts.

<sup>3</sup> On 27 May, John Welde, "one of the Clerks in the Office of the Privy Seal," received 20*s.*, which the King commanded to be paid him as a reward for his labours in that Office.

<sup>4</sup> Blank: no doubt meant for Hoccleve.

<sup>5</sup> 1418, Pells Issue Rolls, Easter, 6 Hen. V.

"Die Veneris xiiij<sup>o</sup> die Maij. Johanni Welde et Willelmo Albertyn, Clericis in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem liij. s. iiij. d. eis liberandarum de regardo speciali, per ausamentum Consilij Domini Regis, eis facto pro laboribus per ipsos habitis in officio predicto per tres annos vltimos preteritos, tam apud Calestam [Calais] quam infra regnum Anglie, absque feodo vel annuitate de Rege percepto per idem tempus; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . liij. s. iiij. d."

Decembris anno secundo et iij<sup>turn</sup> diem Aprilis anno quarto expendentis<sup>1</sup> in officio predicto; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de termino Pasche vltimo preterito . . . . . xlvj. s. viij. d. from 16 Dec. 1414  
to 4 April, 1416,  
  
22 6s. 8d.

XXXIII.

13 March, Saturday. Payment of the annuity for Michaelmas, "by his own hands,"—6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. 13 March 1417.  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Michs. 1416.

XXXIV.

1417, Easter, 5 Hen. V. 25 May, Friday. To Thomas Hocleve, one &c., for Easter, 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. (It does not say that the payment was made to "his own hands.") 25 May 1417.  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Easter.

XXXV.

1417, Michs. 5 Henry V. 30 Nov. Monday. Payment of part, "by his own hands,"—3<sup>l</sup>. 6<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. 30 Nov. 1417.  
23 6s. 8d.  
10 Feb. Thursday. Payment of the rest, "by his own hands,"—3<sup>l</sup>. 6<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>.<sup>3</sup> 10 Feb. 1418,  
23 6s. 8d.  
to Michs. 1417.

XXXVI.

1418, Easter, 6 Hen. V. 1 July, Friday. Payment to Hocleve for Easter term,—6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. 1 July, 1418,  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Easter.

XXXVII.

1418, Michs. 6 Hen. V. 7 Dec., Wednesday. To Thomas Hoclyf, one, &c., for Michaelmas, 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. (It does not say "by his own hands.") 7 Dec., 1418,  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Michs.

XXXVIII.

1419, Easter, 7 Hen. V. 8 July, Saturday. To Thomas Hocleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Easter, 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. 8 July, 1419,  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Easter.

XXXIX.

1419, July 10. Payment of 12s. 2d. to Hocleve for 16 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. V.<sup>2</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Sic, for *expendentis*, or *expenditis*, as in other accounts.

<sup>2</sup> John, Lord of Furnyvall, Keeper of the King's land of Ireland, is mentioned on membrane 15.

Die Lune, x<sup>o</sup> die Julij (1419).

**Thomas Hoccleve.**  
To him, for red wax and ink bought of Walter Lucy, from March 6, 1418, to July 10, 1419,  
12s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi deliberatis per manus proprias, pro cera rubea et incausto,<sup>1</sup> de Waltero Lucy, Ciui et haberdassher London', per ipsum emptis, et in officio predicto inter vj<sup>tu</sup>m diem Marcij anno quinto et x<sup>m</sup> diem Julij anno vij<sup>mo</sup> expenditis; per breue de priuato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . xij. s. ij. d.

## XL.

22 Nov. 1419.  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Michs., 1419.

1419, Michs. 7 Hen. V. 22 Nov. Wednesday. To Thomas Hocclyve, one, &c., for Michs., 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. (It does not say "by his own hands.")

## XLI.

17 June, 1420.  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Easter.

1420, Easter, 8 Hen. V. 17 June, Monday. Payment for Easter, 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. "by his own hands."

## XLII.

26 Nov. 1420.  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Michs.

1420, Michs. 8 Hen. V. 26 Nov., Tuesday. To Thomas Occeleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Mich., 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>.

## XLIII.

5 July, 1421.  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Easter.

1421, Easter, 9 Hen. V. 5 July, Saturday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter, 6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. "by his own hands."

## XLIV.

11 Nov. 1421.  
26 13s. 4d.  
to Michs.

1421, Michs. 9 Hen. V. 11 Nov., Tuesday. Similar payment to Hoccleve, "by his own hands."

<sup>1</sup> The payments for *parchment* during this time were made direct to Lucy: see Pells Issue Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V., A.D. 1419: "Die Jouis xxx<sup>mo</sup> die Nouembris. Waltero Lucy, Ciui et Haberdassher London', In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamento pro officio priuati sigilli, tempore festinacionis et necessitatis ab eo empto ad vices: per breue generale vt supra—xij. s. vj. d." In the next roll, Easter, 8 Hen. V., under date of 3 July, there is another payment to Lucy for four bundles of parchment at certain prices, for the office of the Privy Seal, and for the Receipt of the Exchequer, under a general writ.

XLV.

23 Feb. 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. V., 1421.]

Die Lune, xxij. die Februarij [1422].

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, et Willelmo Alberton', Clerico in eodem officio, In denarijs eis liberatis, videlicet, per manus predicti Thome, xl.s. xj.d. ob. pro cera rubea et incauste<sup>1</sup> emptis de Waltero Lucy, Ciui Londonie, ad opus Regis, et expeditis in dicto officio, videlicet, a x<sup>mo</sup> die Julij Anno vij. eiusdem Regis vsque x<sup>m</sup> diem Februarij vltimo preteritum; et per manus dicti Willelmi, xvij.s. iij.d. tam pro pergameno per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Regis et expedito in dicto officio, tempore quo dictus Rex vltimo erat apud Eboracum et partes ibidem, quam pro solucione per ipsum nuper facta apud Ciuitatem Lincolnie diuersis personis ibidem, pro certis literis Regis portandis in Comitatum Cornubie; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino

**Thomas Hoccleue.**  
To him

40s. 11½*d.*  
for red wax and ink bought for the Privy Seal Office from July 10, 1419 to Feb. 10, 1422; and to Wm. Alberton 18s. 4*d.* for parchment bought

when Hen. V. was at York, and for money paid at Lincoln for sending the King's letters to Cornwall;

lix.s. iij.d. ob.<sup>2</sup>

£2 19s. 3½*d.*

XLVI.

25 May, 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of his half-yearly £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Hen. V.]

Die Lune, xxv. die Maij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, patris Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas

To Thos. Hoccleue, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office of Hen. IV.,

who gave him £13 6s. 8*d.* a year for life, for his good service,

<sup>1</sup> So, for 'incausto.'

<sup>2</sup> Among the "Liberationes" to the "ministers" of the Exchequer from 14 January to 28 March is the following entry: "Waltero Lucy de London', Haberdassher, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergameno ab eo empto, tam pro officio Thesaurarij et Camerariorum de Scaccario, quam priuati Sigilli Domini Regis . . . . . xl.v.s. ij.d."

There is a duplicate of this roll.

lxvi *Hoccleve's Annuity Confirmd. Payment to Him in 1423.*

and Hen. V.  
confirmd it,—

£6 2s. 7½d. by  
assignment,  
and 10s. 8½d. in  
money;

£6 13s. 4d.

suas patentes concessit, quas quidem literas dictus Domi-  
nus Rex nunc confirmavit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per  
manus proprias, videlicet, per assignacionem factam isto  
die, vj.li. ijs. vij.d. ob., et in moneta x.s. viij.d. ob., in  
persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberatarum de huius-  
modi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo pre-  
terito; per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc  
termino . . . . . vj. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

XLVII.

24 Jan. 1423. Inspeximus and Confirmation  
by Henry VI. of Hoccleve's Annuity  
of £13 6s. 8d.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry VI., part 2, membrane 7.]

De confirmacione—Hoccleue.

We have seen the  
confirmation by  
Henry V.

of Hoccleve's  
Annuity of  
£13 6s. 8d. granted  
by Hen. IV.

on 28 Sept. 1413.

By the advice of  
Our Council,  
We approve and  
confirm the same.

24 Jan. 1422-3.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus  
literas patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Regis  
Henrici quinti defuncti, de confirmacione factas in hec  
verba: "Henricus, Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie,  
et Dominus Hend',<sup>1</sup> Omnibus ad quos (&c., as in the  
Patent of 1 Hen. V., 28 Sept. 1413). . . . .  
In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus  
patentes. Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, vice-  
simo octauo die Septembris anno regni nostri primo."  
Nos autem dictas literas ipsius patris nostri, de auisa-  
mento magni Consilij nostri, approbamus, ratificamus  
et confirmamus, prout litera predicte racionabiliter tes-  
tantur. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonas-  
terium, xxiiij die Januarij.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XLVIII.

15 Feb. 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a  
half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4d.) to Michs.  
1422.

[Pells Issue Rolls, Michaelmas, 1 Henry VI.]

<sup>1</sup> Sic, for Hibernie.

Die Lune, xv° die Februarij.

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc: cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas pater<sup>1</sup> Regis nunc ac idem Dominus Rex confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

To Thos. Hoccleue, late a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, to whom Henry IV. granted £13. 6s. 8d. a year for his life,

and Henry V. and VI. confirmd it,— in money paid

for a half-year's annuity to Michs. 1423, £6 13s. 4d.

XLIX.

20 May 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a half-year's Annuity, £6 13s. 4d., to Easter 1423.

[Polls Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Hen. VI.]

Die Jouis, xx° die Maij.<sup>2</sup>

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo—xx. marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas Dominus Henricus nuper Rex, pater Regis nunc, ac idem Dominus Rex nunc confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino . . . . . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

Thomas Hoccleue, late a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year,

and Henry V. and VI.

confirmd it—in money paid to for a ½ years' him annuity to

Easter, 1423, £6 13s. 4d.

<sup>1</sup> This is expressed more fully in the following Roll.

<sup>2</sup> This heading applies to both this and the next Hoccleve entry on this roll, but they are some distance apart.

L.

20 May 1423. Grant to Hoccleve of 23s. 1*l.* for red wax and ink, bought for the Privy-Seal Office.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry VI.]

**Thomas Hoccleue,** of the Privy-Seal Office, paid to him for red wax and ink, bought of Walter Lucy of London, for the Office, from 9 Feb. 1422 to 19 May 1423,

23s. 1*l.*

Thome Hoccleue, de officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xxiiij.s. iiij.d.<sup>1</sup> quos Dominus Rex nunc eidem Thome liberare mandauit pro cera rubea et incausto, per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy de London', et in dicto officio expenditis, a ix<sup>o</sup> die Februarij, anno ix<sup>o</sup> Regis Henrici quinti, patris Regis nunc, vsque xix die[m] Maij vltimo preteritum, per breuis de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . xxiiij.s. j.d.<sup>2</sup>

LI.

4 July 1424. Grant to Hoccleve of the Corrody that the late Nicholas Mokkyng had in the Priory of Southwick, Hants.

[*Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances, 1422-9,* vol. iii, p. 152, ed. Nicolas, 1834.]

[Additional MS. in British Museum 4604, art. 34 ; a modern Transcript.—Petition to the King and Council, with the answer, 4th July, 2 Hen. VI. 1424.]

To the King and Council.

Thos. Hoccleve of the Privy-Seal Office begs you to grant him such provision for life in Southwick Priory, Hants, as the late N. Mokkyng had.

“ Au Roy, nostre tresredoute et souverain seigneur, et as tresnobles et tressages seigneurs de son Consail.

“ Supplie votre treshumble clerc, Thomas Hoccleve, de l'office du priue seal, quil plaise a voz tresnobles seigneuries lui granter autiele sustenance, a prendre chascun an durante sa vie, en la priore de Suthwyk en contée de Suthampton, come Nichol Mokkyng, que mort est,—nadgaire Maistre de Saint Laurance de Ponteneye en Londres—avoit et prist en la dicte priorie quant il vesquist,<sup>3</sup> pour Dieu et en oeure de charitee.

<sup>1</sup> Sic.

<sup>2</sup> “j.d.” is written over an erasure; probably a correction of the “iiij.d.” above.

<sup>3</sup> As Hoccleve's annuity was paid to Michs. 1425, it isn't certain that this Southwick corrody was worth £20 a year so as to stop the King's annuity under the original (p. xlix) and the substituted Grants. But the Treasurer no doubt did stop it after 1425.

"H. Gloucestra. H. Cantuariensis. J. Londoniensis. H. Wyntoniensis. Philippus Wygorniensis. Warrewyk. Scrop. Hungerford.

"(In dorso) iiii die Julij, anno secundo, apud Westmonasterium, concessa fuit præsens supplicatio in forma qua petitur, præsentibus dominis infrascriptis."

4 July 1424.  
Hoccleve's petition is granted.

LII.

1424, Michs. 3 Hen. VI. Thomas Hocclyff, late one of the Clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, to Henry IV., who for his good service gave him 20 marks yearly by letters patent, confirmed by the present King:—6<sup>l</sup>. 13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. for the half-year, paid into his own hands on Monday, 27 November.

27 Nov. 1424.  
£6 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.

LIII.

11 Feb. 1426. Payment of Hoccleve's last half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4d.) to Michs. 1425.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 4 Hen. VI.]

Die Lune, xj<sup>o</sup> die Februarij.

Thome Hocclyff, nuper vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili seruiuo per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo—xx [marcas]<sup>1</sup> percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Regis, ac idem Dominus Rex nunc, confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino

To Thos. Hoccleve, late one of the Clerks in the Privy-Seal Office,

to whom  
£13 6s. 8d. a year was granted by Henry V.—

in money paid to him

for his ½ year's Annuity to Michs. 1425,

vj li. xiiij s. iiii d. £6 13s. 4d.

There is nothing about Hoccleve in the Pells Issue Rolls of Easter 4 Hen. VI, 1426; Michs. 5 Hen. VI, 1426; Easter 10 Hen. VI, 1432; Easter 15 Hen. VI,

<sup>1</sup> Omitted.



*Appendix. No Payment to Hoccleve in 1440.*

1437; Easter 17 Hen. VI, 1439; Michaelmas 19 Hen. VI, 1440; Easter 20 Hen. VI, 1442; Easter 25 Hen. VI, 1447.

1440. In the Pells Issue Roll for Easter, 18 Hen. VI, there is a payment to "divers Clerks of the King's Privy Seal," of the King's gift, as a reward for transcribing the Agreements made with the Emperor—5 marks. And another payment to "Thomas Frank,<sup>1</sup> one of the Clerks, and Filacer in the office of the King's Privy Seal."<sup>2</sup> But there is no reference to Hoccleve.

The foregoing notices were obtained from the Patent Rolls and the Exchequer Rolls only by dint of searching through some hundreds of membranes—perhaps about 1500. Few, if any, of them are referred to in the meagre indexes.

<sup>1</sup> Or Frank.

<sup>2</sup> Was he the successor of Hoccleve? He is also mentioned in Easter 15 Hen. VI., Easter 17 Hen. VI., and Mich. 19 Hen. VI.

? a 1430 ? Hoccl. Poems PS Compl. Virg. (Hunt)

Transfer to corrected edn., same sheet #  
(pts. 1 & 2 in 1 vol.), edd. Mitchell & Doyle.

## HOCCLEVE'S MINOR POEMS.

A.D. 1413—1446.

*Phillipps MS. 8151 (formerly Prince Henry's, Son of James I).*

leaf 3 : vellum, ab. 1450 A.D.

### The Complaynte of the Virgin before the Cross.

(englight by command of LADY HEREFORD.)

(In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*)

[The first leaf of the MS. and of this *Complaynte* (a 1) is lost. The first 2 leavs of the Poem to 'Oldcastel,' sign. a 7, 8, have been put befor the 2nd leaf of the Virgin *Complaynte* (sign. a 2), to prevent the MS. looking incomplete. Ther was thus at least one rascaly bookseller in James I's time.]

[7]

¶ O Womman,—pat among the peple speek'	43	[sign. a 2, leaf 3]
How pat the wombe blessid was pat beer,		O Woman ( <i>Luke</i> ,
And the tetes pat yaf to sowken eek'		xi. 27) who sed
The sone of god / which on hy hangith heer,—		my Womb was
What seist thow now / why comest thow no neer?	47	'blessed,' where
Why nart thow heere? / o womman, where art thow,		art thou now?
That nat ne seest my woful wombe now?	49	

[8]

¶ O Simeon / thow seidest me ful sooth	50	O Simeon, the
'The strook' that perce shal my sones herte,		sword that pierst
My soule thirle it shal' / and so it dooth :		my Son's heart
The wownde of deeth ne may I nat asterte,		( <i>Luke</i> , ii. 35)
Ther may no martirdom me make smerte	54	pierces mine tool
So sore as this martree smertith me :		
So sholde he seyn / pat myn hurt mighte see.	56	

HOCCLEVE, M.P.—I.

B

~~2 a 1430~~ 29 Deccl.

Transfer to corrected edn., name

I. THE COMPLEYNTE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

[9]

O Father and Mother ! why did ye breed me ?	¶ O. Ioachim / o deere fadir myn ! And seint Anne, my modir deere also ! To what entente / or to what ende or fyn Broghten yee me foorth / þat am greued so ? Mirthe is to me become a verray fo. Your fadir Dauid / þat an harpouir was, Conforted folk' þat stood in heuy cas.	57       61  63
---------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------

[10]

Ye cannot comfort me.	Me thynkith yee nat doon to me aright, þat were his successours / syn instrument Han yee noon left / wher-with me make light, And me conforte, in my woful torment. Me to doon ese / han yee no talent, And knowen myn conforteless distresse : Yee oghiten weepe for myn heuynesse.	64       68  70
--------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------

[11]

O Son,  think how I nurst and kist Thee !	¶ O blessid sone / on thee wole I out throwe My salte teeres / for oonly on thee My look is set / o thynke / how many a throwe Thow in myn armes lay / and on my knee Thow sat / & haddist many a kus of me. Eeek thee, to sowke, on my breestes yaf y, Thee norisshyng' faire & tendrely.	71       75  77
----------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------

[12]

Now Death takes Thee from me !	Now thee fro me, withdrawith bittir deeth, And makith a wrongful disseuerance. Thynke nat, sone / in me þat any breath Endure may / þat feele al this greuance ; My martirdom me hath at the outrance ; I needes sterue moot / syn I thee see Shamely nakid, Strecchid on a tree.	78       82  84
-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------

[13]

[leaf 4]	And this me sleeth / þat in the open day Thyn hertes wownde shewith him so wyde	85
----------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

þat alle folk see and beholde it may,  
So largeliche opned is thy syde.  
O! wo is me, syn I nat may it hyde ! 89  
And, among othre of my smerte greeues,  
Thow put art also, sone, amonges theeues, 91

And, alas! Thou  
art set among  
thieves!

[14]

As thow were an euel & wikkid wight. 92  
And, lest þat somme folk' par auenture  
No knowleche hadde of thy persone aright,  
Thy name, Pilat hath put in scripture,  
þat knowe mighte it euery creature, 96  
For thy penance sholde nat been hid.  
O / wo is me / þat al this see betid ! 98

Thy name is  
written up that  
all folk may know  
Thee.

[15]

How may myn yen, þat beholde al this, 99  
Restreyne hem for to shewe by weepyng  
Myn hertes greef / moot I nat weepe ? O yis !  
Sone, if thow haddist a fadir lyuyng,  
That wolde weepe & make waymentyng, 103  
For þat he hadde paart of thy persone,  
That were a greet abreggyng of my mone. 105

Thou hast no  
father living to  
comfort me.

[16]

But thow in eerthe / fadir haddist neuere ; 106  
No wight for thee / swich cause hath for to pleyne,  
As þat haue I / shalt thow fro me disseuere,  
þat aart al heolly myn ? my sorwes deepe  
Han al myn hertes ioie leid to sleepe. 110  
No wight with me, in thee, my sone, hath part :  
Hoolly of my blood<sup>1</sup> / deere chyld / thow art. 112

[leaf 4, back]  
Earthly father,  
thou never hadst.

Thou art wholly  
my child.

[17]

That doublith al my torment & my greef. 113  
Vn-to myn herte / it is confusion,  
Thyn harm to see / þat art to me so leef.  
Mighte nat, sone / the Redempcioun

I grieve to see  
Thee hurt.

<sup>1</sup> ? MS. bleed.

# Transfer

4

## I. THE COMPLETYNE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

Of man han bee withoute effusiozn 117  
 Of thy blood ? yis / if it had been thy lust.  
 But what Thou wilt, be done ! But what thow wilt be doon / souffre me must ! 119

[18]

O deeth / so thow kythist thy bittirnesse 120  
 First on my sone / & aftirward on me.  
 Bittir art thow / & ful of crabbidnesse,  
 Death, who hast slayn my Son, That my sone hast slayn thurgh thy crueltee,  
 And nat me sleest / certein, nat wole I fee. 124  
 slay me ! Come of / come of<sup>t</sup> / & slee me heere, as blyue !  
 Departe from him / wole I nat a lyue ! 126

[19]

[leaf 5] ¶ O moone / o sterres / and thow firmament ! 127  
 O Moon and Stars,  
 How may yee, fro wepyng yow restreynne,  
 And seen your Creatour in swich torment ?  
 Yee oghten troublid been in euery veyne,  
 weep with me ! And his despitous deeth / with me compleyne. 131  
 Weepeth & crieth as lowde as yee may,  
 Our Creatour with wrong is slayn this day. 133

[20]

[<sup>1</sup> But see Luke xxiii. 43-5, &c.] ¶ O sonne, with thy cleere bames brighte,<sup>1</sup> 134  
 Darkness from the 6th to the 9th hour.  
 O Sun, why leavest thou my Son uncoverd here ?  
 þat seest my child nakid this nones tyde,  
 Why souffrest thow him, in the open sighte  
 Of the folk' heere / vnkeuered abyde ?  
 Thou art as moche, or more, holde him to hyde, 138.  
 Than Sem, þat helid his Fadir Noe  
 Whan he espyde þat nakid was he. 140

[21]

If thow his sone be / do lyk ther-to ! 141  
 Come of / withdrawe thy bemes brightnesse !  
 Thow art to blame / but if thow so do.  
 Hide his nakedness ! For shame / hyde my sones nakidnesse !  
 Is ther in thee no sparcle of kyndenesse ? 145  
 He is thy Lord. Remembre he is thy lord and Creatour !  
 Now keuere him / for thy worsship & honour ! 147

[22]

¶ O eerthe / what lust hast thou to susteine 148 [leaf 5, back]  
The crois on which he þat thee made, and it, O Earth, cleave  
Is hangid? / and aoured thee with greene  
Which þat thou werist / how hast thou thee quit  
Vn-to thy lord? / o do this for him yit! 152  
O! wake for doel / & cleue thou in two,  
And al þat blood / restore me vn-to, 154 in two, and re-  
store my Son's  
blood!

[23]

Which thou hast dronke / it myn is, & not thyn; 155  
Or elles thus / withouten tarynge  
Tho bodyes dede / whiche in thee þat lyn, or cast out thy  
deed!  
Caste out / for they, by taast of swich dewynge,  
Hem oghte clothe ageyn in hir clothyng. 159  
Thow Caluarie / thou art namely Calvary, do this!  
Holden for to do so / to thee speke Y. 161

[24]

O deere sone / myn deeth neighith faste, 162  
Syn to an othir / thou hast youen me  
Than vn-to thee / & how may my lyf laste, How can I live?  
þat me yeuest any othir than thee?  
Thogh he / whom thou me yeuest / maiden be, 166  
And thogh by iust balance / thou weye al,  
The weighte of him & thee / nat is egal. 168

[25]

He a disciple is / & thou art a Lord; 169 [leaf 6]  
Thow al away art gretter than he is;  
Betwixt your mightes / is ther greet discord.  
My woful torment / doublid is by this;  
I needes mourne moot / & fare amis; 173 Thou seemest to  
have severd me  
from Thee for  
ever.  
It seemeth þat thou makist departyng  
Twixt thee & me for ay / withoute endyng; 175

[26]

And namely / syn thou me 'womman' callist, 176 Thou calledst me  
'Woman!'  
As I to thee straunge were and vnknowe;  
Therthurgh, my sone / thou my ioie appallist;

I. THE COMPLEYNT OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

	Wel feele I þat deeth his vengeable bowe Hath bent / & me purposith down to throwe.	180
My name is changed!	Of sorwe talke may I nat ynow, Syn fro <sup>1</sup> my name / I-doon away is now.	182
	[27]	
I am <i>Mara</i> (bitter);	Wel may men clepe and calle me 'Mara'! From hennes forward, so may men me call. How sholde I lenger' clept be 'Maria', Syn 'I', which is Ihesus, is fro me fah	183
my sweetness is turnd to gall!	This day / al my swetnesse is in-to gaff Torned, syn þat 'I', which was the beautee Of my name / this day hynome is me.	187 189
	[28]	
[leaf 6, back] O John, how	¶ O Iohn, my deere freend! thow haast receyued A woful modir / and an heuy sone Haue I of thee / deeth hath myn othir weyued!	190
can we avoid death?	How may we two, the deeth eschue or shone? We drery wighites two / wher may we wone? Thou art of confort / destitut / I see; And so am I / ful careful been wee!	194 196
	[29]	
	Vn-to oure hertes / deeth hath sent his wownde: Noon of vs may alleggen othres peyne.	197
So full of woe are we,	So manye sorwes in vs two habownde, We han no might, fro sorwe vs restreyne; I see non othir / die moot we tweyne;	201
let us die!	Now let vs steruen heer <i>par</i> compaignie! Sterue thow there / & heere wole I die.	203
	[30]	
O Angels, your Creator is slain!	¶ O Angels / thogh yee mourne and waile & weepe <sup>2</sup> , Yee do no wrong / slayn is your Creatour By the folk' þat yee weren wont to keeps And gye & lede / they to dethes shour Han put him / thogh yee han wo & langour,	204 208

<sup>1</sup> ? 'me' left out, for want of power to work it in.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Chaucer's 'wrynge & waile & weepe,' Clerk's Envoy.  
*Cant. Tales.*

- No wondir is it / who may blame yow ?  
And yit ful cheer he had hem þat him slow. 210  
[31]  
¶ O / special loue / þat me ioyned haast 211 [leaf 7]  
Vn-to my sone / strong is thy knyttynge ! O Love,  
This day ther-in fynde I a bittir taast ;  
For now the taast I feele, & the streynynge  
Of death / by thy deeth / feele I deeth me styng. 215 now I feel Death's  
O poore modir / what shalt thow now seye ? sting !  
Poore Marie / thy wit is aweye ! 217  
[32]  
Marie ? nay / but 'marred' I thee call. 218 I am not Mary,  
So may I wel / for thow art / wel I woot, but 'marred,'  
Vessel of care & wo, & sorwes all ! a vessel of woe !  
Now thow art frosty cold / now fyry hoot ;  
And right as þat a ship, or barge, or boot, 222  
Among the wawes dryueth steerelees,  
So doost thow, woful womman, confortlees ! 224  
[33]  
And of modir / haast thow eek' lost the style : 225 Mother am I, no  
No more maist thow clept be by thy name ! more.  
¶ O sones of Adam / al to long whyle Sons of Adam,  
Yee tarien hens / hieth hidir for shame !  
See how my sone / for your gilt & blame, 229 see my Son bleed-  
Hangith heer al bybled vp on the crois ! ing on the Cross !  
Bymeneth him in herte & cheere & vois ! 231  
[34]  
His bloody stremes, see now & beholde ! 232 [leaf 7, back]  
If yee to him han any affeccioun,  
Now for his wo / your hertes oghten colde.  
Shewith your loue and your dileccioun ; Show your love !  
For your gilt makith he correccioun 236  
And amendes / right by his owne deeth :  
þat yee nat reewe on him, myn herte it sleeth. 238  
[35]  
A modir þat so soone / hir cote taar 239  
Or rente / sy men neuere noon or this,



? a 430 ? Doccl. Poeme Ps Compl. Virg. (Hnt)  
Transfer

8

II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

	For chyld / which þat shee of hir body baar,	
	To yeue her tete: as my chyld, þat heere is,	
	His cote hath torn / for your gilt, nat for his,	243
For your redemp- tion, He shed His blood.	And hath his blood despent in greet foysoun ;	
	And al it was for your Redempcioun.	245

¶ Cest tout.

Ceste Compleynte paramont feut translatee au  
commandement de ma dame de Hereford,  
que dieu pardoynt !

? a 430 (1415) Doccl. Oldcastle (Hnt)  
[II.]

TRANSFER TO  
CORR. ED.  
(same shelf no.)  
Ed. Mitchell & Doyle

Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy  
Henri le VI, (que Dieu pardoint !)  
feust a Hampton sur son primer  
passage vers Harflete.  
(In 5-measure eights, *abab, cdcd.*)

[1]

[sign. a 7, leaf 1]	<b>T</b> He laddre of heuene / I meene charitee,	
	Comandith vs / if our brothair be falle	
	In to errour / to haue of him pitee,	
	And seeke weyes, in our wittes alle,	4
	How we may him ageyn to vertu calle ;	
	And in gretter errour ne knowe I noon	
Oldcastle! thou haest left Christ's faith!	Than thow, þat dronke haast <sup>1</sup> heresies galle,	
	And art fro Crystes feith twynned & goon.	8

[2]

Allas! þat thow þat were a manly knyght,	
And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse,	
Standynge in the fauour of euery wight,	
Haast lost the style of cristenly prowesse	12

<sup>1</sup> The *aa* in 'haast,' l. 7, and 'aart, paart,' l. 150, 152, occurs elsewhere. The Latin side-notes, below, are in the MS.

Among alle hem / þat stande in the cleernesse  
Of good byleeue / & no man with thee holdith,  
Sauf cursid caitifs, heires of dirknesse :  
For verray routhe of thee / myn herte coldith. 16

No one holds with thee, but cursed caitifs!

[3]

Thow haast maad a fair permutacion  
Fro Crystes lore to feendly doctryne ;  
From honour & fro dominacion  
Vn-to reproof and mescheuous v[e]nyne ; 20  
Fro cristen folk' / to hethenly couyne ;  
Fro seuretee vn-to vnsikirnesse ;  
Fro ioie and ese / vn-to wo & pyne,  
Fro light of trouthe / vn-to dirke falsnesse. 24

Thou hast left the light of Truth for darkness!

[4]

O Oldcastel / allas / what eilid thee  
To slippe in to the snare of heresie ?  
Thurgh which / thow foo arte to the Trinitee,  
And to the blissid virgyne Marie, 28  
And to the Innumerable holy compaignie  
Of heuene / and to al holy chirche. allas !  
To longe haast thow bathid in þat folie !  
Ryse vp / & pource thee of thy trespas ! 32

[sign. a 7, leaf 1, back]

Thou art God's foe!

Purge thee of thy trespas!

[5]

Seynt Austyn seith / ' whiles a man abydith  
In heresie or scisme / and list nat flee  
Ther fro / his soule / fro God he diuidith,  
And may nat saued been in no degree. 36  
For what man holdith nat the vnitee  
Of holy Chirche / neithir his bapteeme,  
Ne his almesse / how large þat it be,  
To helthe him profyete / ne god qweame.' 40

[MS.]

Augustinus de fide, ad Petrum :  
' Firmissime tene,  
& nullatenus dubites, quemlibet  
hereticum &c. qui ecclesie catholice  
non tenet vnitate[m], neque baptis-  
mus / neque elemosina quantum-  
cumque copiosa / neque more pro  
Christi nomine suscepta, proficere  
poterit ad salutem.'

[6]

And yit more-ouer he seith thus also,  
' Thogh þat an heretyk', for Crystes name  
Shede his blood / & his lyf for Cryst forgo,  
Shall nat him saue' / allas, the harm & shame ! 44

- May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame?  
Obeie / obeie / in the name of Jhesu!  
Thou art of merit & of honour lame;  
Conquere hem two / & thee arme in vertu! 48
- [7]
- [sign. a 8, leaf 2]  
[MS.]  
De Theodosij  
illustris Imperatoris  
obedienciali humillitate / respice  
in historia tripartita, libro  
ix, vbi narrat, 'Cum apud The-  
lonicas Ciuitatem,' &c.
- If thyn hy herte, bolnynge in errour,  
To holy chirche can nat buxum be:  
Beholde Theodosius Emperour,  
How humble & buxum vn-to god was he! 52  
No reward tooke he of his dignitee,  
But, as a lamb, to holy chirche obeide:  
In the scripture / may men rede & se  
How meekly of the Bisshop, grace he preide. 56
- [8]
- Thoffense which þat he ageyn god wroghte,  
Was nat so greet as thyn / by many fold;  
And yit ful heuy he was, & it forthoghte,  
Obeyng<sup>1</sup> as þat holy chirche hath wold. 60
- Thou hast sold thy soul to the Devil.
- Thow þat thy soule / to the feend haast sold,  
Bye it agayn thurgh thyn obedience!  
Thyn heresie is al to hoor and old;  
Correcte thee at Crystes reuerence! 64
- [9]
- And for thy soules helthe / do eeke so!  
Thy pryde qwenche, & thy presumpcioun!  
Wher thou hast been to Crystes feith a fo,  
Plante in thyn herte a deep contricioun, 68  
And hennes foorth be Crystes Champion!  
The welle of mercy renneth al in brede;  
Drynke ther-of / syn ther is swich foysoun,  
Thyn hertes botel / ther<sup>2</sup>-of fille, I rede. 72
- [10]
- [sign. a 8, or leaf 2, back]  
[<sup>1</sup> MS. m]
- Thow haast offendid god wondirly sore;  
And natheles / if thou the wilt amende,  
Thogh<sup>1</sup> thy gilt wer<sup>1</sup> a thousand<sup>1</sup> tymes more,  
Ask God mercy! Axe him mercy / & he wole it thee sende. 76

Thow art vnwys / thogh thow thee wys pretende,  
And so been alle of thyn opinioun.  
To god & holy chirche thow thee bende!  
Caste out thy venym thurgh confessioun!

80 Bend thee to Holy Church!

[11]

Thow seist 'confessioun auriculer  
Ther needith noon' / but it is the contrarie;  
Thow lookist mis / thy sighte is nothyng cleer!  
Holy writ ther-in is thyn Aduersarie,  
And Clerkes alle fro thy conceit varie,  
þat Crystes partie holden & maynteene.  
Leue þat conceit / lest þat thow mis-carie!  
Waar of the swerd of god / for it is keene.

84 Thou objectest to Confession.

[MS.]  
Scriptum est /  
'Ostendite vos sacerdotibus.'

88 Leave that conceit!

[12]

Heere, in this lyf / vn-to god mercy crie,  
And with the ax or hamer of penance  
Smyte on the stoon / slee thyn obstinacie!  
Hauē of thy synnes heuy remembrance!  
Rowne in the preestes ere / & the greuance  
Of thy soule / meekly to him confesse;  
And in the wal of heuene / is no doutance,  
Thow shalt a qwike stoon be / for thy goodnesse.

92 [MS.]  
Augustinus de visitatione infirmorum dicit. 'In muro Ciuitatis superne apponenda es lapis viuus, in cuius edificio non auditur securis aut malleus. hic perferendus est strepitus / hic adiciendus est lapidi malleus / hic conterendum est totum lapidis superuacuum / strepitus peccatorum tuorum recordatio super quibus perstrepat in auro sacerdotis humillima tua confessio, &c.'

96

[13]

\*O Oldcastel / how hath the feend thee blent!  
Where is thy knyghtly herte / art thow his thral?  
Thow errest foule eeke in the sacrament  
Of the Auter / but how in special  
For to declare it needith nat at al;  
It knowen is in many a Regioun.  
Now syn the feend hath youen the a fal /  
Qwyte him / let see / ryse vp & slynge him down!

100 [\* sign. B 1, or leaf 8]

Rise up, and sling the Devil down!

[14]

Ryse vp, a manly knyght, out of the slow  
Of heresie / o lurker / as a wrecche  
Wher' as thow erred haast / correcte it now!  
By humblesse / thow mayst to mercy strecche.

Rise out of the slough of Heresy!

108

2. 1450 Docct.  
Transfer

12

II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

Get absolution  
from Holy  
Church!

To holy chirche go / & ther' fecche  
The holsum oyle of absolucion.  
If thow of soules hurt ne shame recche,  
Thow leesist heuene / and al knyghtly renoun. 112

[15]

Thou refusest to  
obey Prelates.

Par cas / thow to thy self shame it arettist,  
Vn-to Prelatz of holy chirche obeie :  
If it so be / thy conceit thow mis settist.  
What man aright can / in his herte weye 116  
The trouthe of that! To Ihesu Cryst, I seye,  
Principally / is þat obedience.  
God hath ordeyned preestes to purveye  
Salue of penance / for mannes offense. 120

[16]

[sign. b. 1; ff. 8,  
back]

Confess and  
repent of thy  
errors!

Vnto seint Petir and his successours,  
And so fourth down / god hath his power lent.  
Go to the Preest / correcte thyn errours,  
With herte contryt vn-to god y-bent! 124  
Despute no more of the sacrament!  
As holy chirche biddith, folwe it!  
And hennes forward / as by myn assent,  
Presume nat so mochil of thy wit! 128

[17]

If a Priest is  
vicious,

follow him not,  
but obey his  
teaching.

I putte cas, a prelat or a preest  
Him viciously gouerne in his luyunge /  
Thow oghtist reewe on it / whan thow it seest,  
And folwe him nat / but aftir his techynge 132  
Thow oghtest do / & for thyn obeyynge  
Thow shalt be sauf / & if he teche amis,  
Toforn god shal he yeue a rekenynge,  
And þat a streit / the greet peril is his. 136

[18]

Stir no arguments  
about our Faith!

Lete holy chirche medle of the doctryne  
Of Crystes lawes / & of his byleeue,  
And lete alle othir folke / ther-to enclayne,  
And of our feith noon argumentes meeu. 140

For if we mighte our feith by reson preeue,  
We sholde no meryt of our feith haue.  
But now a dayes / a Baillif or Reeue  
Or man of craft / wole in it dote or rauē. 144

[MS.]  
Fides non haet  
meritum, &c.

[19]

Some wommen eeke, thogh hir wit be thynne,  
Wele argumentes make in holy writ !  
Lewde calates ! sittith down and spyne,  
And kakele of sumwhat elles, for your wit 148  
Is al to feeble to despute of it !  
To Clerkes grete / apparteneth þat aart  
The knowleche of þat, god hath fro yow shit ;  
Stynte and leue of / for right splendre is your paart. 152

[sign. b 2, lf. 9]  
Women even  
argue now about  
Holy Writ ! Let  
em cackle of  
something else !

[20]

Oure fadres olde & modres lyued wel,  
And taghte hir children / as hem self taght were  
Of holy chirche / & axid nat a del  
' Why stant this word heere ? ' / and ' why this word  
there ? ' 156  
' Why spake god thus / and seith thus elles where ? '  
' Why dide he this wyse / and mighte han do thus ? '  
Our fadres medled no thyng of swich gere :  
þat oghte been a good mirour to vs. 160

Our forefathers  
  
never askt ques-  
tions.

[21]

If land to thee be falle of heritage,  
Which þat thy fadir heeld in reste & pees,  
With title iust & trewe in al his age,  
And his fadir before him brygelees, 164  
And his and his / & so foorth / doutelees  
I am ful seur / who so wolde it thee reue,  
Thow woldest thee deffende & putte in prees ;  
Thy right thow woldest nat, thy thanks, leue. 168

If you inherited  
land  
  
  
  
you'd defend it  
against robbers.

[22]

Right so / where as our goode fadres olde  
Possessid were, & hadden the seisyne  
Peisible / of Crystes feith, & no man wolde

[sign. b 2, lf. 9,  
back]  
So our fathers  
held Christ's  
faith.

Impugne hir right: it sit vs to enclyne 172  
 Ther-to / let us no ferthere ymagyne  
 But as þat they dide! occupie our right;  
 And in oure hertes fully determyne  
 Our title good / & keepe it with our might. 176

Let us then keep  
 their possession  
 with all our  
 might!

[23]

Who so hath right / and nat wole it deffende ;  
 It is no manhode / it is cowardyse :  
 And as in this cas / he shal god offende  
 So greuously / þat he shal nat souffyse, 180  
 The maugree, for to bere in no wyse  
 Fro Cryst þat right first greew / & if þat we  
 Nat shuln susteene it / we been ful vnwyse :  
 Him self is feith / right / trouthe, & al bontee. 184

He who'll not  
 defend his rights  
 is a coward!

[24]

The Cristen Emperour Justinian,  
 As it is writen / who so list it see,  
 Made a lawe deffending' euery man,  
 Of what condicion or what degree 188  
 þat he were of / nat sholde hardy be  
 For to dispute of the feith openly ;  
 And there vp on / sundry peynes sette he,  
 þat peril sholde eschued be therby. 192

[MS.]  
 Lege Nemo.  
 'Nemo Clericus  
 vel militaris, vel  
 cuiuslibet alterius  
 condicionis de fide  
 christiana publice  
 turbis coadunatis  
 & audientibus  
 tractare conetur  
 in posterum ex  
 hoc tumultus &  
 perfidie occasi-  
 onem requirens  
 &c. & ibi expres-  
 satur pena in  
 huiusmodi causis  
 exequendis.'

[25]

Bewar Oldcastel / & for Crystes sake  
 Clymbe no more / in holy writ so hie!  
 Rede the storie of Lancelot de lake,  
 Or Vegece of the aart of Chiualrie, 196  
 the Siege of Troy; The seege of Troie / or Thebes / thee applie  
 To thyng þat may to thordre of knyght longe!  
 To thy correccioun / now haaste and hie,  
 For thow haast been out of ioynt al to longe. 200

[leaf 10]  
 Oldcastle, don't  
 read Holy Writ!  
 Read Lancelot, or

the Siege of Troy;

[26]

or Judges and  
 Joshua:

If thee list thyng rede of auctoritee,  
 To these stories sit it thee to goon :  
 To Iudicum / Regum, and Iosue,

~~Howel. Oldcastle (Hunt)~~  
Trauer

To Iudith / & to Paralipomenon, 204  
And Machabe / & as siker as stoon,  
If þat thee list in hem bayte thyn ye,  
More autentike thing / shalt thow fynde noon,  
Ne more pertinent to Chiuallrie. 208

these pertain to  
Chivalry.

[27]

Knyghtes so dide in tymes þat be past,  
Whan they had tendrenesse of hir' office ;  
In Crystes feith they stooden stidefast ;  
And as þat the preest, hir soules Norice, 212  
Hem goostly fedde / & yaf hem the notice  
Of Crystes lore : with obedience  
They tooke it / but now regneth swich malice,  
That buxumnesse is put in abstinence. 216

Knights of old

obeyd the Priest.

Now, obedience is  
set aside.

[28]

O Constantyn, thow Prince of hy nobleye /  
O cristen Emperour / whos worthynesse  
Deseyned nat to holy chirche obeye,  
But didest al thy peyne & bisynesse, 220  
With wel disposid spirit of meeknesse,  
The Ministres of god for to honure ;  
How thow wroughtist / hast thow so strong witsesse,  
That lyue it shal / whil the world wole endure ! 224

[ff. 10 bk.]

The Emperour  
Constantine obeyd  
Holy Church.

[29]

Thow took nat on thee hir correctioun,  
Ne vp on hem / thow yaf no iugement !  
Swich was to god thy good affeccioun,  
Thow seidest / ' they been goddes to vs sent ! 228  
And þat it is nothyng conuenient,  
That a man sholde goddes iuge and deeme.'  
Thow were a noble & a worthy Regent !  
Wel was byset on thee / thy diadeeme ! 232

[MS.]

De admirabili  
honore quem  
Constantinus Im-  
perator exhibuit  
ecclesie Ministris  
ita scribitur /  
' Deus vos consti-  
tuit sacerdotes, &  
potestatem dedit  
vobis iudicandi, &  
ideo nos a vobis  
iudicemus; vos  
autem non potestis  
ab hominibus  
iudicari,' &c.

[30]

Blessid be god / fro whom deryued is  
Al grace / our lige lord / which þat is now  
Our feithful cristen Prince and King / in this

Our Henry V  
follows his steps.



21430 (1415)

Oldcastle! Follow these Princes!	Folwith thy steppes / o' for shame thow Oldcastel / thow haast longe tyme ynow	236
[! odd, this! If he 'does it no longer,' why should he be scolded? P Read 'that' for 'thogh' in 238.]	Folwed the feend / thogh thow no lenger do, <sup>1</sup> Do by my reed / it shal be for thy prow : Flee fro the Feend / folwe tho Princes two !	240

[31]

[leaf 11]	Reward had, & consideracioun, Vn-to the dignitees of tho persones, Thow art of a scars reputacioun ! A froward herte / haast thow for the nones !	244
Bow and correct thyself!	Bowe & correcte thee / come of at ones ! Foule haast thow lost thy tyme many a day ! For thyn vnfeith / men maken many mones ;	
Return to God !	To god retourne / & with his feith dwelle ay !	248

[32]

Leave thy mis-belief!	Thogh god the haue souffrid regne a whyle, Be nat to bold / be war of his vengeance ! He tarieth for thow sholdist reconsyle Thee to him / & leue thy mescreaunce. Holsum to thee / now were a variaunce Fro the feend to our lord god / & fro vice Vn-to vertu, þat were his hy plesaunce, And his modres, man-kyndes mediatrice.	252       256
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[33]

Debate not against God!	Some of thy fetheres weren plukkid late, And mo shuln be / thow shalt it nat asterte ; Thow art nat wys / ageyne god to debate ! The flood of pryde / caste out of thyn herte ! Grace is a-lyue / to god thee conuerte ! Thow maist been his / if thee list him obeie ; If thow nat wilt so / sorrer shalt thow smerte, Than herte of man may thynke, or tonge seye !	260       264
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[34]

[leaf 11, back] O Lord of all ! Inspire Oldcastle with Thy grace !	Almighty god / thow lord of al, and Syre, Withouten whom is no goodnesse wroght, This knyght, of thyn habundant grace enspyre !	
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

Remembre how deere / þat thow haast him boght ! 268  
He is thyn handwerke / lord ! refuse him noght,  
Thogh he thee haue agilt outrageously /  
Thow þat for mercy deidest, change his thoght !  
Benigne lord, enable him to mercy !

He is thy hand-  
work.

272 Fit him for  
mercy !

[35]

Yee þat peruerted him / yee folke dampnable !  
Yee heretikes þat han him betrayed,  
That manly was / worthy & honourable,  
Or þat he hadde of your venym assayed,  
I doute it nat / your wages shal be payed  
Sharply / but yee correcte your trespas,  
In your fals errorr / shul yee been outrayed,  
And been enhabited with Sathanas.

Ye Heretikes that  
mised this  
Knight,

276

280 ye shall go to  
Hell !

[36]

Yee, with your sly coloured argumentes  
Which þat contenen nothyng but falshode,  
Han, in this Knyght, put so feendly ententes,  
þat he is ouercharged with the lode  
Which yee han leid on his good old knyghtode,  
That now 'a wrecchid knyght' men calle may.  
The lak' of feith / hath qwenchid his manhode ;  
His force ageyn god / naght is at assay.

Ye have quenchid

284

his manhood.

288

[37]

'Prynce of preestes' / our lige lord yee calle  
In scorn / but it is a style of honour :  
Auctoritee of Preest excedith alle  
Eerthely powers / thogh it seeme sour  
To the taast of your detestable errorr.  
They þat in the feith been constaunt & sad,  
In seint Petres wordes han good faour,  
And fayn been to fullfills þat he bad.

[leaf 12]

Ye call the King  
'Prince of  
Priests.'  
But Priests are  
abov him.

292

296

[38]

Alle eerthely Princes and othir men,  
Bysshops to obeie / commandid he.  
Yee han no ground to holde ther ayen :

Earthy Princes  
must obey  
Bishops.

? 21430 (1415)

Spiritual things  
ar abuv temporal.

Spirituel thynges / passe in dignitee 300  
Alle the thynges temporel þat be,  
As moche as dooth the soule the body.  
In the scriptures, serche / & yee shul see  
þat it no lees at al is hardily. 304

[39]

The Sun and  
Moon

Two lightes, god made in the firmament  
Of heuene / a more made he, & a lesse ;  
The gretter light, to the day hath he lent,  
It for to serue in his cleer brightnesse; 308  
The smaller, to the nyght in soothfastnesse  
He lente also / to helpe it with his light.

betoken Papal  
authority, and  
Kingly.

Two dignitees they tokenen in liknesse :  
Auctoritee papal, and kynges might. 312

[40]

[leaf 12, back]

As Sun to Moon,  
so is Pope to  
King.

Looke, how moche & how greet dyuersitee  
Betwixt the sonne ther is, & the moone !  
So moche is a popes auctoritee  
Aboue a kynges might / good is to doone 316  
þat yee aryse out of your errorr soone,  
þat there-in walwid han / goon is ful yore.

If ye'll not be-  
liev it, I hope ye  
may be burnt!

And but yee do / god, I byseeche a boone,  
þat in the fyr yee feele may the sore ! 320

[41]

Yee þat nat sette by preestes power,  
'Crystes Rebels, & foos' men may you calle.  
Yee waden in presumpcioun to fer !  
Your soules to the feend, yee foule thralle ! 324

Ye say 'a sinful  
preest can't make  
Christ's body.'

Yee seyn, 'a preest in deedly synne falle,  
If he so go to messe / he may nat make  
Crystes body' / falsly yee erren alle,  
þat holden so / to deepe yee ransake ! 328

[42]

He can.

As wel may a preest þat is vicious,  
þat precious body make, day by day,  
As may a preest / þat is ful vertuuous ;

~~Wood. Oldcastle (Hunt)~~  
Transfer

But waar the preest / his soule it hurte may, 332

And shal, but he be cleene : it is no nay.

Be what he be / the preest is instrument

Of god / thurgh whos wordes / trustith this ay,

The preest makith the blessid sacrament. 336

The Priest is only  
an instrument to  
make the Body.

[43]

Yee medle of al thyng / yee moot shoo the goos :

[leaf 15]

How knowen yee what lyf a man is ynne ?

Your fals conceites renne aboute loos !

If a preest synful be, & fro god twynne, 340

Thurgh penitence he may ageyn god wynne.

No wight may cleerly knowen it or gesse,

þat any preest, beynge in deedly synne,

For awe of god, dar to the messe him dresse. 344

Besides, no one  
can know that  
a Priest in sin  
dare perform  
Mnas.

[44]

Yee seyn also 'ther sholde be no pope,

But he the beste preest were vp-on lyue.'

O ! wher-to graspen yee so fer, and grope

Aftir swich thyng / yee mowe it neuere dryue 348

To the knowleche / nothyng there-of stryue !

Medle nat ther with / let al swich thyng passe !

For if þat yee do / shul yee neuere thryue ;

Yee been ther-in as lewde as is an asse ! 352

Ye are asses !

[45]

Many man outward / seemeth wondir good,

And inward is he wondir fer ther-fro :

No man be Iuge of þat / but he be wood :

To god longith þat knowleche, & no mo.

Thogh he be right synful / sooth is also,

The hy power þat is to him committid,

As large as petres is / it is right so :

Amonges feithful folk' / this is admittid. 360

356 God alone can  
judge what a man  
is.

The Pope's power  
is as great as  
Peter's.

[46]

What is the lawe the werse of nature,

[lf. 13, bk]

If þat a Iuge vse it nat aright ?

No thyng / god wot / auyse him þat the cure

? 21430 (1415)

Ther-of hath take / looke he do but right ; 364  
 Waar / þat he nat stonde in his owne light !  
 Good is, þat he his soule keepe & saue.  
 Your fals conceites, puttith to the flight,  
 I rede / and Crystes mercy, axe & haue ! 368

[47]

Yee þat pretenden folwers for to be  
 Of Crystes disciples / nat lyue sholde  
 Aftir the flessþly lustes / as doon yee  
 þat rekken nat / whos wyf yee take & holde : 372  
 Swich lyf / the disciples nat lyue wolde,  
 For cursid is the synne of aduoutrie ;  
 But yee ther-in, so hardy been & holde,  
 þat yee no synne it holden, ne folie. 376

[48]

If yee so holy been as yee witsesse  
 Of your self : thanne in Crystes feith abyde !  
 The disciples of Cryst had hardynesse  
 For to appeere / they nat wolde hem hyde 380  
 For fere of deeth / but in his cause dyde.  
 They fledden nat to halkes ne to hernes,  
 As yee doon / þat holden the feendes syde,  
 Whiche arn of dirknesse the lanternes. 384

[49]

Ne neuere they in forcible maneere  
 With wepnes roos / to slee folk, & assaille,  
 As yee diden late in this contree heere,  
 Ageyn the King, stryf to rere, & bataille. 388  
 Blessid be god / of your purpos yee faille,  
 And faille shuln / yee shuln nat fourth ther with !  
 Yee broken meynee / yee wrecchid rascaille  
 Been al to weyke / yee han ther-to no pith ! 392

[50]

Also yee holden ageyn pilgrimages,  
 Whiche arn ful goode / if þat folk wel hem vse ;  
 And eeke ageyns the makynge of ymages.

Put your false opinions to flight !

Ye live in lust, and care not whose wife ye take.

Christ's disciples faced death boldly.

Ye hide in corners.

[leaf 14] They never rioted as ye did of late. (at the Rising in St. Giles's Fields, in Jan. 1414.)

You object to Pilgrimages and Images.

Howel. Oldcastle (Hwt.)  
Transfer

II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

21

What / al is nat worth þat yee clappe & muse. 396

How can yee, by reson, your self excuse

þat yee nat erren / whan yee folk' excite

To vice / and stire hem, vertu to refuse ?

Waar goddes strook' / it peisith nat a lyte. 400

Ye excite folk to vice.

[51]

For to visite seintes / is vertu,

If þat it doon be for deuocioun ;

And elles / good is, be ther-of eschu.

Meede wirkith in good entencioun. 404

Be cleene of lyf / & be in orisoun !

Of synne, talke nat in thy viage !

if ye behave well.

Let vertu gyde thee / fro toun to toun !

And so to man / profitith pilgrimage. 408

[52]

And to holde ageyn ymages makyng,

(Be they maad in entaille or in peynture,)

Is greet errour / for they yeuen stiryng

Of thogh̄tes goode / and causen men honure 412

The seint / after whom / maad is that figure,

And nat worsshippe it / how gay it be wroght.

For this knowith wel euery creature

þat reson hath / þat a seint is it noht. 416

[cf. 14, bk.]  
Images stir up good thoughts, and make men honour Saints, not worship them.

[53]

Right as a spectacle helpith feeble sighte,

Whan a man on the book' redith or writ,

And causith him to see bet than he mighte,

In which spectacle / his sighte nat abit, 420

But gooth thurgh / & on the book restith it !

The same may men of ymages seye,

Thogh̄ the ymage nat the seint be / yit

The sighte vs myngith to the seint to preye. 424

Images help us to pray, as Spectacles help us to read.

[54]

Ageyn possessions / yee holden eeke,

Of holy chirche / & that is eeke errour :

Your inward ye / is ful of smoke & reeke !

Ye object to the Church holding property.

But Christ, while  
on earth, had  
Purses.      While heere on eerthe / was our Sauneour,      428  
Whom Angels diden *seruice* & honour,  
Purses had he / why? for his chirche sholde  
So haue eek' aftir / as seith mine Auctour :  
Yee goon al mis / al is wrong / þat yee holde !      432

[55]

[leaf 15]      Iustinian Emperour had swich cheertee  
To holy chirche / as þat seith the scripture,  
þat of goodes how large or greet plentee  
It hadde of yifte of any creature?      436  
Him thoghte it youe in the best mesure  
þat mighte been / his herte it loued so.  
Yee neuere yaf hem good, *per* auenture :  
What title han yee / aght for to take hem fro?      440

What right have  
ye to take from  
the Church what  
ye never gave?

[56]

And if yee had aght youe hem or this tyme,  
Standynge in the feith / as yee oghthen stonde,  
Sholden they now / for your change & your cryme,  
Despoillid been of þat they haue in honde?      444  
Nay / þat no skile is / yee shul vndirstonde,  
They nyght and day labouren in prayeere  
For hem that so yaf / styntith, and not fonde  
To do so? for first boghit wole it be deere.      448

Why should the  
Church be spoldid?

[57]

Presumpcion of wit, and ydilnesse,  
And couetyse of good / tho vices three  
Been cause of al your ydil bysynesse.  
¶ Yee seyn eeke : 'goodes, *commune* oghthen be :'      452  
þat ment is, in tyme of necessitee,  
But nat by violence or by maistrise,  
My good to take of me / or I of thee,  
For þat is verray wrong & robberie.      456

Ye say 'Property  
ought to be com-  
mon.'

But it oughtn't to  
be made so by  
violence.

[58]

[ff. 15, bk.]      If þat a man the soothe telle shal,  
How þat your hertes in this cas been set,  
For to ryfle, is your entente final;

Ye only want to  
plunder.

~~John Oldcastle (Hut)~~  
Transfer

Yee han be bisy longe / aboute a net, 460  
And fayn wolde han it in the watir wet,  
The fissh to take / which yee han purposid.  
But god and our lord lige hath yow let !  
It nis, ne shal been / as yee han supposid. 464

But God and the  
King hav stopt  
you.

[59]

Men seyn 'yee purpose hastily appeere,  
The worm for to sleen in the pesecod :'  
Come on / whan yow list / yee shul reewe it deere !  
The feend is your cheef / & our heed is god ! 468  
Thogh we had in oure handes / but a clod  
Of eerthe / at your heedes to slynge or caste,  
Were wepne ynow / or a smal twig or rod ;  
The feith of Cryst / stikith in vs so faste ! 472

Fight when you  
will, we shall beat  
you.

[60]

We dreden nat / we han greet auantage,  
Whethir we lyue / or elles slayn be we,  
In Crystes feith / for vp to heuenes stage,  
If we so die / our soules lift shul be ; 476  
And on þat othir part / yee feendes / yee  
In the dirke halke of Helle shul descende !  
And yit with vs abit this charitee,  
Our desir is / þat yee yow wolde amende. 480

We shall go to  
Heaven.  
Ye to Hell !

[61]

Yee holden many an othir errorr mo  
Then may be writen in a lital space,  
But lak' of leisir me commandith ho.  
Almighty god / byseeche I of his grace 484  
Enable yow to seen his blessid face.  
Which þat is o god / & persones three.  
Remembre yow / heuene is a miry place,  
And helle is ful of sharp aduersitee. 488

[leaf 16]

Yet, I pray God to  
save you.

[62]

Yit, Oldcastel / for him þat his blood shadde  
Vp on the crois / to his feith torne agayn !  
Forget nat the loue / he to vs hadde,

Oldcastle !  
Turn again to  
Christ's faith !



? 211430 (1415) Wood. Oldcastle (Hnt)  
Transfer

24

II. TO SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE. A.D. 1415.

	þat blisful lord / þat for alle vs / was slayn !	492
Turn not thy brain against the Faith!	From hennes forward / trouble nat thy brayn As thow hast doon, ageyn the feith ful sore ! Cryst, of thy soule / glad be wolde, & fayn : Retourne knyghtly now vn-to his lore !	496
	[63]	
Repent!	Repente thee / and with him make accord ! Conquere meryt and honour / let see, Looke how our cristen Prince, our lige lord,	
Why art thou not fighting in France by King Henry's side? Shame on thee!	With many a lord & knyght beyond the See, Labour in armes / & thow hydest thee ! And darst nat come / & shewe thy visage ! O, fy! for shame / how can a knyght be Out of thonur of this rial viage ?	500 504
	[64]	
[leaf 16, bk.] Once, Oldcastle was in every fray.	Sum tyme was no knyghtly turn no where, Ne no manhode shewid in no wyse, But Oldcastel wolde, his thankes, be there.	
How has the Devil changed thee!	How hath the cursid fiend changid thy gyse ! Flee from him ! and alle his wirkes despyse ! And þat y-doon, vn-to our cristen kyng	508
Humble thee to our King !	Thee hie as faste / as þat thow canst dyuyse, And humble eeke thee to him / for any thyng !	512
	Cest tout.	

[III.]

Cy ensuyt la male regle de T. Hoccleur.

[Against his ill-regulated life : eating and drinking to excess for 20 years (l. 109—112) ; treating and kissing girls, l. 145—160 ; (He confesses his cowardice in l. 169—176 ;) drinking in Taverns at Westminster, l. 179 ; (tho' still young—say 35—l. 209) going on the river, l. 190—208, and this mainly with borrowd money, l. 369—371.

Final *ē* kept up. Double vowel for tone, 'haast, aart, paart, &c., and to give the liquid *u*, treewe ; *ou* used for other *u*, souffyse, &c., souffre ; *nal* for not, as always.]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc*. Printed by G. Mason.]

[1]

O	precious tresor incomparable !	[leaf 16, back]
O	ground & roote of prosperitee !	O Health,
O	excellent richesse commendable	
Abouen alle /	pat in eerthe be !	4
Who may susteene thyn aduersitee ?		
What wight may him avante of worldly welthe,		who can have wealth without thee ?
But if he fully stande in grace of thee,		
Erthely god / piler of lyf / thow helthe ?		8

[2]

Whil thy power / and excellent vigour	9	[leaf 17]
(As was plesant vn-to thy worthynesse)		When I had thee,
Regned in me / & was my gouvernour,		
Than was I wel / tho felte I no duressse,	12	
The farsid was I with hertes gladnesse ;		I was glad.
And now my body empty is, & bare		Now am I joyless.
Of ioie / and ful of seekly heynesse,		
Al poore of ese / & ryche of euel fare !	16	

[3]

If pat thy fauour twynne from a wight!	17
Smal is his ese / & greet is his greunance !	
Thy loue / is lyf / thyn hate sleeth doun right !	

*Transfer*

26

III. LA MALE REGLE DE T. HOOCLEUR.

I have lost Health,	Who may compleyne thy disseurance Bettre than I, þat, of myn ignorance, Vn-to seeknesse am knyt / thy mortal fo.	20
and I know what penance is.	Now can I knowe feeste fro penaunce ; And whil I was with thee / kowde I nat so.	24
	[4]	
I suffer daily	My grief and bisy smert cotidian So me labouren & tormenten sore, þat what thow art now / wel remembre I can, And what fruyt is in keepynge of thy lore.	25 28
	Had I thy power knowen or this yore, As now thy fo conpellith me to knowe, Nat sholde his lym han cleued to my gore, For al his aart / ne han me broght thus lowe.	32
	[5]	
[leaf 17, back]	But I haue herd men seye longe ago, ' Prosperitee is blynd / & see ne may ' : And verifie I can wel / it is so ; For I my self put haue it in assay.	33 36
	Whan I was weel / kowde I considere it? nay ! But what / me longed aftir nouelrie, As yeeres yonge yernen day by day ;	
for my past folly.	And now my smert accusith my folie.	40
	[6]	
In youth I knew not what it was to lose Health.	Myn vnwar yowthe kneew nat what it wroghte, This woot I wel / whan fro thee twynned shee ; But of hir' ignorance hir self shee soghte, And kneew nat þat shee dwellyng was with thee ; For to a wight were it greet nycetee His lord or freend wityngly for toffende, Lest þat the weighte of his aduersitee The fool oppresse / & make of him an ende.	41 44 48
	[7]	
	From hennes fourth wole I do reuerence Vn-to thy name / & holde of thee in cheef, And werre make, & sharp resistance	49

- Ageyn thy fo & myn, þat cruel theef, . 52  
 þat vndir foote / me halt in mescheef,  
 So thow me to thy grace reconcyle.  
 O now thyn help / thy socour and releef!  
 And I for ay / mis reule wole exyle. 56
- [8]
- But thy mercy excede myn offense / 57 [leaf 18]  
 The keene assautes of thyn aduersarie  
 Me wole oppresse with hir violence.  
 No wondir / thogh thow be to me contrarie; 60  
 My lustes blynde han causid thee to varie  
 Fro me / thurgh my folie & inpudence;  
 Wherfore / I, wrecche / curse may & warie  
 The seed and fruyt of chyldly sapience. 64
- [9]
- As for the more paart / youthe is rebel 65  
 Vn-to reson / & hatith her doctryne,  
 Regnyng which / it may nat stande wel  
 With yowthe / as fer as wit can ymagyne. 68  
 O / yowthe / allas / why wilt thou nat enclyne,  
 And vn-to reuled reform bowe thee?  
 Syn resoun is the verray streighte lyne  
 þat ledith folk / vn-to felicitee. 72
- [10]
- Ful seelde is seen / þat yowthe takith heede 73  
 Of perils þat been likly for to fañ;  
 For, haue he take a purpos / þat moot nede  
 Been execut / no conseil wole he cañ; 76  
 His owne wit, he demeth best of añ;  
 And fourth ther-with / he renneth brydillees,  
 As he þat nat betwixt hony and gañ  
 Can iuge / ne the werre fro the pees. 80
- [11]
- Añ othir mennes wittes he despisith; 81 [leaf 18, back]  
 They answeren no thyng to his entente;  
 His rakil wit only to him souffysith;

Help me, O  
 Health; and I'll  
 give up misrule.

My blind lusts hav  
 driven thee away.

Why will not  
 Youth bow to  
 Rule?

Youth will hav its  
 own way.

*Transfer*

	His hy presumpcioun nat list consente	84
	To doon as þat Salomon wroot & mente,	
	þat redde men by conseil for to werke :	
	Now, youthe, now / thow sore shalt repente	
	Thy lightlees wittes duft, of reson derke !	88
	[12]	
My frende warnd me against my misrule.	My freendes seiden vn-to me ful ofte,	89
	My mis reule me cause wolde a fit ;	
	And redder me, in esy wyse & softe,	
	A lyte and lyte to withdrawen it ;	92
	But þat nat mighte synke in-to my wit,	
	So was the lust y-rootid in myn herte.	
And now I'm ripe for the grave.	And now I am so rype vn-to my pit,	
	þat scarsely I may it nat asterte.	96
	[13]	
	Who-so cleer yen hath, & can nat see,	97
	Ful smal, of ye, auailith the office /	
	¶ Right so / syn reson youen is to me	
	For to discerne a vertu from a vice,	100
	If I nat can with resoun me cheuice,	
	But wilfully fro reson me withdrawe,	
	Thogh I of hir haue no benefice,	
	No wondir / ne no fauour in hir lawe.	104
	[14]	
[leaf 19] Reason bade me eat and drink moderately.	Reson me bad / & redde as for the beste,	105
	To ete and drynke in tyme attemprely ;	
	But wilful youthe nat obeie leste	
	Vn-to þat reed / ne sette nat ther-by.	108
	I take haue of hem bothe outrageously	
	And out of tyme / nat two yeer or three,	
But for 20 years I've livd in excess.	But .xx. <sup>ti</sup> wyntir past continually,	
	Excesse at borde hath leyd his knyf with me.	112
	[15]	
	The custume of my repleet abstinence,	113
	My greedy mowth, Receite of swich outrage,	
	And hondes two / as woot my negligence,	

- Thus han me gyded / & broght in *seruage* 116  
 Of hire þat werreieth euery age,  
 Seeknesse, y meene, riotoures whippe, And now, Sicknes  
 Habundantly þat paieth me my wage, has hold of me.  
 So þat me neithir daunce list, ne skippe. 120  
 [16]
- The outward signe of Bachus & his lure, 121  
 þat at his dore hangith day by day /  
 Excitith folk / to taaste of his moisture  
 So often / þat man can nat wel seyn nay. 124  
 For me, I seye / I was enclyned ay I haunted Wine-  
 With-uten daunger thidir for to hye me, houses, and  
 But if swich charge / vp on my bake lay, drank,  
 That I moot it forbere / as for a tyme ; 128  
 [17]
- Or but I were nakidly bystad 129 [leaf 19, back]  
 By force of the penylees maladie, save when I was  
 For thanne in herte kowde I nat be glad, penniless.  
 Ne lust had noon to Bachus hows to hie. 132  
 Fy ! Lak of coyn / departith conpaignie,  
 And heuy purs, with herte liberal,  
 Qwenchith the thirsty hete of hertes drie,  
 Wher chynchy herte / hath ther-of but smal. 136  
 [18]
- I dar nat telle / how þat the fresshe repeer 137  
 Of venus femel lusty children deere, I went after pretty  
 þat so goodly / so shaply were, and feir, girls  
 And so plesant of port & of maneere, 140  
 And feede cowden al a world with cheere,  
 And of atyr passyngly wel byseye,  
 At Poules heed me maden ofte appeere, at the Paul's Head  
 To talke of mirthe / & to disporte & pleye. 144 Tavern,
- [19]
- Ther was sweet wyn ynow thurgh-out the hous, 145 and treated em to  
 And wafres thikke / for this conpaignie wine and wafers.  
 þat I spak of / been sumwhat likerous,

transfer

	Where as they mowe a draghit of wyn espie,	148
	Sweete / and in wirkynges hoot for the maistrise	
	To warme a stomak' <i>with</i> / ther-of they dranke.	
Of course I paid for the girls.	To suffre hem paie, had been no courtesie :	
	That charge I tooke / to wynne loue & thanke.	152
	[20]	
[leaf 20]	Of louses aart / yit touchid I no deel ;	153
	I cowde nat / & eek it was no neede :	
But I only kist em, and didn't do anything naughtier.	Had I a kus / I was content ful weel,	
	Bettre than I wolde han be <i>with</i> the deede :	156
	Ther-on can I but smal ; it is no dreede :	
	Whan þat men speke of it in my presence,	
	For shame I wexe as reed as is the gleede.	
	Now wole I torne ageyn to my sentence.	160
	[21]	
Drinking wastes	Of him þat hauntith tauerne of custume,	161
	At shorte wordes / the <i>profyt</i> is this :	
your money, and makes you talk scandal.	In double wyse / his bagge it shal consume,	
	And make his tonge speke of folk' amis ;	164
	For in the cuppe / seelden fownden is,	
	þat any wight his neigheburgh <i>commendith</i> .	
	Beholde & see / what auantage is his,	
	þat god / his freend / & eek' him self, offendith.	168
	[22]	
	But oon auantage / in this cas I haue :	169
But I was so afraid of fighting, that I kept my tongue close.	I was so ferd / with any man to fighte,	
	Cloos kepte I me / no man durste I depraue	
	But rownyngly / I spak no thyng on highte.	172
	And yit my wil was good / if þat I mighte,	
	For lettynges of my manly cowardyse,	
	þat ay of strookes impressid the wighte,	
	So þat I durste medlen in no wyse.	176
	[23]	
[leaf 20, back]	Wher was a gretter maister eek' than y,	177
Who was better known than I among Taverners	Or bet aqweyntid at Westmynstre yate,	
	Among the tauernereres namely,	

- And Cookes / whan I cam / eerly or late? 180 and Cooks at Westminster Gate?  
 I pynchid nat at hem in myn acate,  
 But paied hem / as þat they axe wolde ;  
 Wherefore I was the welcomere algate,  
 And for 'a verray gentil man' y-holde. 184  
 I paid freely, and was held 'A regular Gentleman!'
- [24]
- And if it happid on the Someres day 185  
 þat I thus at the tauerne hadde be,  
 Whan I departe sholde / & go my way  
 Hoom to the priuee seel / so wowed me 188  
 Heeste & vnlust and superfluitee  
 To walke vn-to the brigge / & take a boot /  
 þat nat durste I contrarie hem all three, 188  
 But dide as þat they stired me / god woot.  
 I'd take a boat.
- [25]
- And in the wyntir / for the way was deep, 193  
 Vn-to the brigge I dressid me also,  
 And ther the bootmen took vp-on me keep,  
 For they my riot kneewen fern ago : 196  
 With hem was I I-tugged to and fro,  
 So wel was him / þat I with wolde fare ;  
 For riot paieth largely / eueremo ;  
 He styntith neuere / til his purs be bare. 200  
 and the Boatmen fought for me, as I paid well.
- [26]
- Othir than 'maistir' / callid was I neuere, 201 [leaf 21]  
 Among this meynee, in myn audience.  
 Me thoghte / I was y-maad a man for euere :  
 So tikelid me þat nyce reuerence, 204  
 þat it me made larger' of despense  
 Than þat I thoght nan been / o flaterie !  
 The guyse of thy traiterous diligence  
 Is, folk' to mescheef' haasten / & to hie. 208  
 These fellows always cald me "Master," and that tickled my vanity, and made me pay ou largely.
- [27]
- Al be it þat my yeeres be but yonge / 209  
 Yit haue I sen in folk' of hy degree,  
 How þet the venym of fauces tonge



Transfer

Flattery's tongue  
has ruind many  
folk!

Hath mortified hir prosperitee, 212  
And broght hem in so sharp aduersitee  
þat it hir lyf hath also throwe a-doun.  
And yit ther can no man in this contree  
Vnnethe eschue this confusioun. 216

[28]

Servants flatter  
and lie to their  
lords.

Many a seruant / vn-to his lord seith, 217  
'þat al the world spekith of him honour,'  
Whan the contrarie of þat / is sooth in feith:  
And lightly leued is this losengeour : 220  
His hony wordes / wrappid in errour,  
Blyndly conceyed been / the more harm is !  
O ! thow, fauele, of lesynges Auctour,  
Causist al day / thy lord to fare amis ! 224

[29]

[leaf 21, back]  
Flatterers are  
' Enchanters ' or  
Deceivers.

The combreworldes clept been ' échantours ' 225  
In bookes / as þat I haue, or this, red,  
That is to seye, sotil deceyuours,  
By whom the peple is mis gyed & led, 228  
And with plesance so fostred and fed,  
þat they forgete hem self, & can nat feele  
The soothe of the condicion in hem brod,  
No more / than hir wit were in hire heele. 232

[30]

Read in the *Book  
of the Nature of  
Beasts*, how Mer-  
maids entice and  
devour Shipmen !

¶ Who-so þat list in ' the book ' of nature 233  
Of beestes ' rede / ther-in he may see  
(If he take heede vn-to the scripture,)  
Where it spekith of meermaides in the See, 236  
How þat so inly mirie syngith shee,  
þat the shipman ther-with fallith a sleepe,  
And by hir' aftir deuoured is he :  
From al which song, is good, men hem to keepe. 240

[31]

Right so the feyned wordes of plesance 241  
Annoyen aftir / thogh they plesse a tyme  
To hem þat been vnwyse of gouernance,

Lordes ! beeth waar / Let nat fauel yow lyme ! 244 Don't let Flattery  
 If þat yee been enuolupid in cryme, entangle you !  
 Yee may nat deeme / men speke of yow weel,  
 Thogh̄ fauel peynte hir tale in prose or ryme :  
 Ful holsum is it / truste hir' nat a deel. 248

[32]

¶ Holcote seith vp-on the book' also 249 [leaf 22]  
 Of sapience / as it can testifie, Holkot, in his  
 Whan þat Vlixes sailid to and fro *Wisdom of Solo-*  
 By meermaides / this was his policie, 252 *mon*, tells how  
 Alle eres of men of his compaignie, Ulysses stopt his  
 With wex he stoppe leest / for þat they noght men's ears against  
 Hir song sholde heere / lest the armonye the Mermaids'  
 Hem mighte vn-to swich deedly sleep han broght, 256 song,

[33]

And bond him self / vn-to the shippes mast : 257 and bound himself  
 Lo ! thus hem alle, saued his prudence. to the ship's mast.  
 The wys man is, of peril sore agast.  
 O flaterie ! o lurkyng' pestilence ! 260  
 If sum man dide his cure & diligence  
 To stoppe his eres fro thy poesie, So should men  
 And nat wolde herkne a word of thy sentence, stop their ears  
 Vn-to his greef it were a remedie. 264 against Flattery.

[34]

As nay / al thogh̄ thy tonge were ago, 265  
 Yit canst thow glose in contenance & cheere ; Flatterers support  
 Thow supportist with lookes eueremo all their lord's bad  
 Thy lordes wordes in eche mateere, 268 words.  
 Al-thogh̄ þat they a myte be to deere ;  
 And thus thy gyse is priuee and appert  
 With word and look' / among our lordes heere  
 Preferred be / thogh̄ ther be no dissert. 272

[35]

But whan the sobre / treewe, & weel auysid, 273 [leaf 22, back]  
 With sad visage his lord enfourmeth pleyn, And when good  
 How þat his gouernance is despysid advisers

*Transfer*

tell their lord	Among the peple / & seith him as they seyn, As man treewe oghte vn-to his souereyn,	276
to amend his goings-on, he bids them leave.	Conseillynge him amende his gouernance, The lordes herte swellith for desdeyn, And bit him voide blyue with meschaunce.	280
	[36]	
	Men setten nat by trouthe now adayes ; Men loue it nat / men wole it nat cherice ; And yit is trouthe best at all assayes.	281
	When þat fals fauel, soustenour of vice, Nat wite shal how hire to cheuyce, Ful boldely shal trouthe hir' heed vp bere.	284
Let not Flattery nestle in your ears !	Lordes, lest fauel / yow fro wele tryce, No lenger souffre hir' nestlen in your ere!	288
	[37]	
	¶ Be as be may / no more of this as now ; But to my mis reule wole I refeere.	289
Before I livd in excess, I was fairly off: now I am poor.	Wher as I was at ese weel ynow, Or excesse vn-to me leef was, & deere, And, or I kneew his earnestful manere, My purs, of coyn had resonable wone ; But now, ther-in can ther but scant appeere :	292
	Excesse hath ny exyled hem echone.	296
	[38]	
[leaf 23] Excess is the Devil,	The feend and excesse been conuertible, As enditith to me my fantasie :	297
	This is my skile / if it be admittible : Excesse of mete & drynke is glotonye ; Glotonye awakith malencolie ; Malencolie engendrith werre & stryfe ; Stryf causith mortel hurt thurgh hir folie :	300
and kills the soul.	Thus may excesse reue a soule hir lyfe.	304
	[39]	
	¶ No force of al this / go we now to wacche By nightirtale / out of al mesure ; For as in þat / fynde kowde I no macche	305

- In al the priuce seel with me to endure ; 308  
 And to the cuppe ay took I heede & cure,  
 For þat the drynke apalle sholde noght.  
 But whan the pot emptid was of moisture,  
 To wake attirward / can nat in my thoght. 312  
 [40]
- But whan the cuppe had thus my neede sped, 313  
 And sumdel more than necessitee,  
 With repleet spirit wente I to my bed,  
 And bathid there in superfluitee. 316  
 But on the morn / was wight of no degree  
 So looth as I / to twynne fro my cowche :  
 By aght I woot / abyde / let me see !  
 Of two / as looth / I am seur, kowde I towche. 320  
 [41]
- I dar nat seyn Prentys and Arondel 321  
 Me countrefete, & in swich wach go ny me ;  
 But often they hir bed louen so wel,  
 þat of the day / it drawith ny the pryme, 324  
 Or they ryse vp / nat tell I can the tyme  
 Whan they to bedde goon / it is so late.  
 O helthe, lord / thow seest hem in þat cryme !  
 And yit thee looth is / with hem to debate. 328  
 [42]
- And why / I not / it sit nat vn-to me, 329  
 þat mirour am of riot & excesse,  
 To knowen of a goddes pryuetee ;  
 But thus I ymagyne / and thus I gesse : 332  
 Thow meened art, of tendre gentillesse,  
 Hem to forbere / and wilt hem nat chastyse,  
 For they, in merthe and vertuous gladnesse,  
 Lordes reconforten in sundry wyse. 336  
 [43]
- But to my purpos / syn þat my seeknesse, 337  
 As wel of purs as body, hath refreyned  
 Me fro Tauerne / & othir wantonnesse,

No one in the  
 Privy-Seal Office  
 sat up drinking  
 at night, like I,

or was so loth to  
 rise in the morn-  
 ing;

[leaf 23, back]  
 tho' my fellow-  
 clerks, Prentys  
 and Arondel, often  
 lay in bed till  
 9 a.m.

But Health has  
 not left them

because they  
 amuse Lords.

Since illness has  
 kept me from the  
 Tavern,

*Transfer*

my name is despised.	Among an heep / my name is now desteyned, My greuous hurt ful lital is compleyned, But they, the lak' compleyne of my despense. Allas þat euere knyht I was, and cheyned To excesse / or him dide obedience.	340    344
	[44]	
[leaf 24]	Despenses large enhance a mannes loos Whil they endure / & whan they be forbore, His none is deed / men keepe hir mowthes cloos, As nat a peny had he spent tofore.	345   348
Hoccleue! Be moderate now!	My thank is qweynt / my purs, his stuf hath lore, And my Carkeis repleet with heuynesse. Be waar, Hoccleue / I rede thee therfore, And to a mene reule / thow thee dresse!	   352
	[45]	
	Who-so, passynge mesure, desyrith, (As þat witnessen olde Clerkes wyse), Him self encombrith often sythe, & myrith ; And for-thy let the mene thee souffyse.	353   356
Be satisfied with a middle course!	If swich a conceit in thyn herte ryse, As thy profyt may hyndre, or thy renoun, If it were execut in any wyse, With manly resoun thriste thow it doun!	   360
	[46]	
Thy rents are scanty,	Thy rentes annuel / as thow wel woost, To scarce been, greet costes to susteene ; And in thy cofre, pardee, is cold roost, And of thy manuel labour, as I weene,	361    364
thou earnest nothing.	Thy lucre is swich / þat it vnnethe is seene Ne felt / of yiftes seye I eek the same ; And stele, for the guerdoun is so keene, Ne darst thow nat / ne begge also for shame.	   368
Thou dar'st not steal or beg.	[47]	
[leaf 24, back] Thou borrowedst much.	Than wolde it seeme / þat thow borwid haast Mochil of þat þat thow haast thus despent In outrage & excesse, and verray waast,	369

- Auyse thee / for what thyng þat is lent, 372  
 Of verray right / moot hoom ageyn be sent ;  
 Thow ther-in haast no perpetuitee.  
 Thy dettes paie / lest þat thow be shent, Pay thy debta'  
 And or þat thow ther-to compellid be. 376
- [48]
- Sum folk in this cas dreeden more offense 377  
 Of man / for wyly wrenches of the lawe,  
 Than he dooth, eithir god or conscience ;  
 For by hem two, he settith nat [an] hawe. 380  
 If thy conceit be swich / thow it withdrawe,  
 I rede / and voide it clene out of thyn herte ;  
 And first of god, and syn of man, haue awe, Fear God, and the  
law!  
 Lest þat they bothe / make thee to smerte. 384
- [49]
- Now lat this smert, warnynge to thee be ; 385  
 And if thow maist heere-aftrir be releued  
 Of body and purs / so thow gye thee If thou recoverest,  
live well,  
 By wit / þat thow / no more thus be greeued. 388  
 What riot is / thow taasted haast, and preued ;  
 The fyr / men seyn / he dreedith þat is brent ;  
 And if thow do so / thow art wel y-meeued :  
 Be now no lenger, fool / by myn assent ! 392 and don't be a  
fool!
- [50]
- Ey / what is me / þat to my self, thus longe, 393 [leaf 25]  
 Clappid haue I / I trowe þat I raue.  
 A / nay / my poore purs / and peynes stronge My poverty and  
pains make me  
spgak thus.  
 Han artid me speke as I spoken haue. 396  
 Who-so him shapith, mercy for to craue,  
 His lesson moot recorde in sundry wyse ;  
 And whil my breeth may in my body waue,  
 To recorde it / vnnethe I may souffyse. 400
- [51]
- ¶ O god ! o helthe ! vn-to thyn ordenance, 401  
 Weleful lord / meekly submitte I me.  
 I am contryt / & of ful repentance

transfer

	þat euere I swymmed in swich nycetee As was displesaunt to thy deitee.	404
O Health, be merciful to me!	Now kythe on me thy mercy & thy grace! It sit a god, been of his grace free ; Foryeue / & neuere wole I eft trespace !	408
	[52]	
My body and purse are both sick.	My body and purs been at oones seeke ; And for hem bothe / I to thyn hy noblesse, As humblely as þat I can · byseeke With herte vnfeyned / reewe on our distresse ! Pitee haue of myn harmful heynesse ! Releeue the repentant in disese ! Despende on me a drope of thy largesse, Right in this wyse / if it thee lyke & plesse.	409 412 416
	[53]	
[leaf 25, back]	¶ Lo, lat my lord the Fourneval, I preye,	417
Tell Lord Furnival, the Treasurer, to pay me my yearly £10, due last Michaelmas. I sink the arrears.	My noble lord / þat now is tresoreer, From thyn Hynesse haue a tokne or tweye To paie me þat due is for this yeer Of my yeerly .x. ti. in theschequeer, Nat but for Michel terme þat was last :	420
[MS.] Annus ille fuit annus restrictionis annuitatus	I dar nat speke a word of ferne yeer, So is my spirit symple and sore agast.	424
	[54]	
	I kepte nat to be seen inportune In my pursuyte / I am ther-to ful looth ; And yit þat gyse / ryf is, and commune Among the peple now, withouten ooth ; As the shamelees crauour wole / it gooth, For estaat real / can nat al day werne, But poore shamefast man ofte is wroth ;	425 428
I must learn to beg.	Therefore, for to craue, moot I lerne.	432
	[55]	
The dumb man gets no land.	The prouerbe is / ‘ the doumb man, no lond getith ;’ Who-so nat spekith / & with neede is bete, And, thurgh argñnesse / his owne self forgetith,	

Transfer

No wondir / thogh an othir him forgete. 436  
 Neede hath no lawe / as þat the Clerkes trete,  
 And thus to craue / artith me my neede ;  
 And right wole eek' þat I me entremete,  
 For þat I axe is due / as god me speede ! 440

I ask only for what is due to me.

[56]

And þat that due is / thy magnificence 441  
 Shameth to werne / as þat I byleeue.  
 As I saide / reewe on myn inpotence,  
 þat likly am to sterue yit or eeue, 444

[leaf 26]

But if thow in this wy[s]e me releue.  
 By coyn, I gete may swich medecyne  
 As may myn hurtes alle, þat me greeue,  
 Exyle cleene / & voide me of pyne. 448

Coyn 'll cure all my hurtes.

? 21430 (1413) ~~Transf. Hen. V. Accus. (Hut)~~

[IV.] TRANSFER TO CORR. ED. (same shelf no.)

Ceste balade ensugante feust faite au tres  
 noble Roy H. le Vt., (que dieu par-  
 doint !) le iour que les seigneurs de son  
 Roialme lui firent leur homages  
 a Kenngtoun.

Edd. Mitchell's  
Doyle

[21 March, 1412-13. In 5-measure eights, abab bcbc.]

[1]

The Kyng of Kynges regnyng' ouer al,  
 Which stablissid hath in eternitee  
 His hy might / þat nat varie he may ne shal,  
 So constant is his blisful deitee,  
 My lige lord / this grace yow graunte he,  
 That your estaat rial / which þat this day  
 Haath maad me lige to your souereyntee,  
 In reule vertuous continue may.

[on leaf 26]

4 K. Henry V.

May God grant you to rule virtuously!

videlicet xxjo die  
Marcij. A° regni  
vostri primo.  
[1418]



2.21430 (1413) Hord. Hen. V. Accus. (Hut)

Transfer

[2]

[leaf 26, back]	God dreede / & ficche in him your trust verray !	9
	Be clene in herte / & loue chastitee !	
Be just,	Be sobre / sad / iust / trouthe, obserue alway !	
	Good conseil take / & aftir it do yee !	12
	Be humble in goost / of your tonge attempree ;	
pitiful, and prudent !	Pitous & merciable in special ;	
	Prudent / debonaire, in mesure free ;	
	Nat ouer large / ne vn-to gold thral !	16

[3]

	Be to your liges also sheeld & wal !	17
	Keepe and deffende hem from aduersitee !	
	Hir wele and wo / in your grace lyth al.	
Govern with Law and Equity.	Gouerneth hem in lawe and equitee ;	20
	Conquere hir loue / & haue hem in cheertee !	
Be Holy Church's champion !	Be holy chirches Champioun eek' ay ;	
	Susteene hir right / souffre no thyng doon be	
	In preiudice of hir, by no way !	24

[4]

*Scilicet. ecclesiam sanctam.*

Drive out heresy !	Strengthe your modir / in chacynge away	25
	Therrouz / which sones of iniquitee	
	Han sowe ageyn the feith / it is no nay,	
	Yee ther to bownde been of duetee ;	28
	Your office is it / now, for your seurtee,	
	Souffreth nat Crystes feith to take a fal !	
	Vn-to his peple / and youres, cheerly see,	
	In conseruyng' of your estat real !	32

[5]

[leaf 27]	Syn god hath sent yow wit substancial,	33
	And kynges might / vertu, putte in assay !	
	And, lige lord / thogh my conceit be smal,	
	And nat my wordes peynte fressh and gay,	36
	But clappe and iangle foorth, as dooth a iay,	
	Good wil to yow shal ther noon faille in me,	
I'll pray to God for you.	Byseechynge vn-to god, pat, to his pay,	
	Yee may gouerne your hy dignitee.	40

TRANSFER TO CORR.  
ED. (same shelf no.)  
Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

[V. AND VI.]

Cestes balades ensuyantes<sup>1</sup> feurent faites au  
tresnoble Roy H. le quint, (que dieu par-  
doint!) & au treshonourable compaignie  
du Karter.

[In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

To yow, welle of honour and worthynesse,  
Our right cristen kyng / heir & Successour      0 King, and  
Vn-to Iustinians deuout tendrenesse  
In the feith of Ihesu, our Redemptour;      4  
And to yow, lordes of the garter / 'flour  
Of Chivalrie' / as men yow clepe & calle;      Lords of the  
The lord of vertu, and of grace Auctour,      Garter,  
Graunte / the fruyt of your loos nat appalle!      8      may your praise  
never lessen!

[2]

O Lige lord, pat han eek the liknesse      9      [leaf 27, back]  
Of Constantyn, thensaumple and the mirour  
To Princes alle, in loue & buxumnesse  
To holy chirche / o verray sustenour      12      O King, upholder  
And piler of our feith, and werreyour      of our Faith  
Ageyn the heresies bittir galle,      against Heresy,  
Do foorth / do foorth / continue your socour!  
Holde vp Crystes Baner / lat it nat falle!      16      keep on your  
help!

[3]

This yle, or this, had been but hethenesse,      17      But for you, we  
Nad been of your feith the force & vigour!      shoud hav been  
And yit, this day, the feendes fikilnesse  
Weeneth fully to cacche a tyme & hour      20  
To haue on vs, your liges, a sharp shour,  
And to his seruiture / vs knytte and thralle.

<sup>1</sup> There are two Balades, of 4 stanzas each, under this heading.

But ay we truste in yow our protectour ;  
On your constance we awayten alle. 24

[4]

O King, forbid Commandith þat no wight haue hardynesse, 25  
(Our worthy kyng and cristen Emperour !)

open disputing  
about the Faith ! Of the feith to despute more or lesse 28  
Openly among peple / where errour

Spryngith al day / & engendrith rumour.  
Makith swich lawe / & for aghit may befallē,  
Oserue it wel / ther-to been yee dettour.  
Dooth so / and god / in glorie shal yow stalle. 32

[5] [VI. 1]

[leaf 28]  
Lords of the Garter, slay Christ's  
foes ! Yee lordes eek shynyrge in noble fame, 33  
To whiche approped is the maintenance

Of Crystes cause! In honour of his name  
Shoue on / & putte his foos to the outraunce ! 36

[MS.]  
¶ quia Rex illam  
iustiss[im]am  
partem tenet

God wolde so / so wolde eek' your ligeance :  
To tho two prikkith yow your duestee :  
Who-so nat keepith this double obseruance,  
Of meryt & honour / nakid is he. 40

[6] [VI. 2]

Your style seith / þat yee been foos to shame. 41  
Now kythe of your feith / the perseuerance

In which an heep of vs arn halt & lame .  
Our Cristen kyng of Engeland and France, 44

And yee, my lordes, with your alliance,  
And othir feithful peple þat ther be,

Quench the  
nuisance of  
Heresy !

Truste I to god, shul qwenche al this nusance,  
And this land sette in hy prosperitee. 48

[7] [VI. 3]

Conqueste of hy prowesse is for to tame 49  
The wyldē woodnesse of this mescreance

Right to the roote / rype yee þat same !  
Sleepē nat this / but for goddes plesance 52

Act at once !

And his modres / & in signifiante  
þat yee been of seint Georges liuerree,

~~Wood. Ven. V & VG (Hnt)~~  
Transfer

VII. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

43

Dooth him seruice and knyghtly obeissance !  
For Crystes cause is his / wel known yee ! 56  
[8] [VI. 4]  
Stif stande in pat / & yee shuln greeue & grame 57 [leaf 28, back]  
The fo to pees / & norice of distaunce ;  
That now is earnest / torne it in-to game ;  
Dampnable fro feith were variance ! 60 Heresy is  
damnable  
Lord lige / & lordes, haue in remembraunce,  
Lord of al is the blissid Trinitee,  
Of whos vertu / the mighty habundaunce  
Yow herte & strengthe in faithful vnitee ! Amen ! 64  
Cest tout.

~~? a1430 (? a1430) Wood. BV (4) (Hnt)~~  
[VII.] TRANSFER TO CORR.  
ED. (same shelf no.)  
Ad beatam Virginem. Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

[In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

**M**odir of lyf / o cause of al our welthe, Mother of Lifet  
Fyndere of grace and of our medecyne !  
Where-as an appil refte our lyf and helthe, from the curse of  
And marie[de] vs vn-to ay lastyng pyne, 4 the apple  
As sones of perdicion and ruyne ;  
That matrymoyne / thy virginitee  
Dissolued / & vnbownden hath, virgyne,  
And at our large / maad vs walke free ! 8 thou hast freed us.

[2]

O blessid be thou ! vessel of clenness, 9 [leaf 29]  
In whom our soules salue list habyte !  
O tree of lyf / swetest of al swetnesse,  
In thy fruyt yeue vs grace to delyte ! 12 Tree of Lifet let  
us delight in thy  
And thogh thy sone, cause haue vs to smyte fruit !

For our giltes / yit our mediatrice,  
 Stir thy Son to As thow hast euere doon / thow him excite  
 have mercy on us! Vu-to mercy / for þat is thyn office. 16

[3]

I am so stuft with My soule is stuffd so with stynkt of synne, 17  
 sin, that I fear þat ay it dreedith beforn thee appeere,  
 thou wilt turn from me. Lest for the filthe / which þat it is ynne, 20  
 Thow torne away thy merciable cheere,  
 And dayne nat accepte my preyeere.  
 And if my trespas heere / I nat confesse,  
 How shal I doon / o Crystes modir deere  
 Whan god shal iuge vs alle, more & lesse? 24

[4]

Sin, why hast O why, my synnes / why, my wikkidnesses, 25  
 thou robbd me With your venym / my soule slayn, han yee,  
 And put in it so desperat gastnesses,  
 þat mercy may ne list beholde me? 28  
 Why oppressith your heuy aduersitee  
 The hope of myn exaudicioun,  
 And shame in yow, maad hath so large entree,  
 of the voice of þat yee the vois me reue of orisoun? 32  
 Prayer?

[5]

[leaf 29, back] Allas thy shame, o thow filthy offense 33  
 In the presence of shynynge holynesse!  
 O shenshippe of vnclene conscience  
 In the beholdynge of pured clennesses! 36  
 O caitif soule inuolued in dirknesse!  
 Where is the What wilt thow do / where is thy remedie?  
 remedy of my Who may thy mescheef and thy greef redresse,  
 caitiff soul? Syn of thy gilt / thow darst nat mercy crie? 40

[6]

Lo! blessid womman among women alle, 41  
 Syn my spirit nat dar putte vp his bille,  
 Thy grace ne thy mercy for to calle,  
 But in his mazidnesse abydith stille, 44  
 My thristy soule / drynke may hir fille

Of sorwe, and bathe in sorwe & heynesse :  
Hir ferdful shame / hir shende wole, & spille,  
For to hir' helthe / nat shee dar<sup>1</sup> hir dresse.

48 I dare not seek  
my cure.

[7]

My synnes yernen þat thyn hy pitee  
Fully hem kneew / for hir curacioun ;  
But they lothen appeere beforne thee  
For hir cursid abhominacion.

49

52

O spryng and welle of our sauuaciozn,  
My dirke soule of thy grace enlumyne,  
And keepe it fro the castigaciozn  
That it disserued hath in helle pyne !

O Well of our Sal-  
vation, keep me  
out of Heil!

56

[8]

If I confesse myn iniquitee,  
Lady / þat I wroght haue in thy presence,  
Wilt thou me werne thy benignitee ?  
If þat my gilt / & my dampnable offense  
Of giltes alle haue an excellence,  
Shal thy mercy be lesse / than it oghte ?  
May nat thy mercy, with my gilt dispense,  
And pardon gete of þat þat it mis wroghte ?

57

[leaf 30]

Lady, refuse me  
not thy grace !

60

64

[9]

The more þat my gilt passith mesure,  
And stynkith in thy sones sighte and thyn /  
The gretter neede hath it, of his cure  
And of thyn help / wherfore, lady myn,  
My soule fro the net and fro thengyn  
Of him þat waytith it to slee / thou keepe !  
His sotil snares, and cacchyng twyn,  
In my memorie ficchid been ful deepe.

65

68

Keep me out of  
the Devil's net !

72

[10]

Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire,  
For in myn herte fully I conceyue  
þat thou to heuene / art the laddre & sterre  
By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.

73

76

Thou art the stairs  
to Heaven !

<sup>1</sup> Why not 'dar shee nat' ?

- Despeir heer'-aftir shal me nat deceyue,  
 þat I ne shal ay thee byseeche of grace.  
 Lady, thy might  
 can win me  
 pardon ! Thy might, I woot wel, is my gilt to weyue,  
 And of my trespas · pardoun me purchase. 80
- [11]
- [leaf 30, back] Thow, Crystes modir / sholdest neuere han be, 81  
 Ne had our synnes causid it certayn ;  
 For why / it had be no necessitee  
 But for thow qwikne shuldest vs agayn, 84  
 þat for our gilt original wern slayn.  
 Thow art his modir / wherfore I thee preye  
 Disdain not to  
 save me ! To saue me / haue thow no desdayn,  
 þat of bountee & mercy art the keye ! 88
- [12]
- Euene as the moone / a mene is verraily 89  
 Betwixt vs and the sonne / of whom hir light  
 Shee takith / & it vniuerselly  
 Yeueth vn-to the world whan it is nyght ; 92  
 In swich a wyse / god, thy sone right,  
 The light of grace betook' vn-to thee,  
 Christ gave thee  
 the light of Grace  
 to lighten all folk  
 with. For to mynistre it vn-to euery wight  
 þat ther-of list enlumyned to be. 96
- [13]
- Thyn humble goost, & maydens chastitee, 97  
 For our behoue han so mochil wroght  
 In sundry wyse / as þat wel knowen we,  
 þat thee to thanke / we souffyse noght. 100
- Thou hast turnd  
 a God of Ven-  
 geance into a  
 Lord of Mercy. Thow hast vs vn-to swich a plyt I-broght,  
 þat he, þat lord was sum tyme of vengeance,  
 With his blood hath our synful soules boght,  
 And is now lord of mercy & souffrance. 104
- [14]
- [leaf 31] Where is a streight'er way vn-to man-kynde, 105  
 To god, thy sone / our soules for to lede,  
 Than where as þat we may thy sone fynde  
 Reform his fadir, with his wowndes rede, 108

~~? 21430 (? 21430) Vocal. BV (1) (Hunt)~~  
Transfer

VIII. ON RICHARD II.'S BURIAL AT WESTMINSTER, 1413. 47

And the before hem / mercy for to grede :  
Thy sone his body shewith al bybled ;  
And to thy sone also, thy maydenhede  
Shewith the pappes / wher-with he was fed. 112

[15]

O blessid Ihesu ! for thy modres loue ; 113 Christ and Mary,  
And modir ! for the hy dileccion  
pat thow hast to thy sone in heuene aboue,  
Haueth me, bothe, in your proteccion ! 116 protect me !  
Plante in myn herte swich correccion,  
pat I, your grace / & your mercy may haue,  
And fully stande in youre affeccion,  
Or my body be clothid in his graue ! 120  
Cest tout.

~~? 21430 (1413) Vocal. Rich. II (Hunt)~~

[VIII.] TRANSFER TO CORR.

¶ Ceste balade ensuyante feust faite tost  
apres que les osses du Roy Richard  
feurent apportez a Westmouster.

[A.D. 1413. In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

Where-as pat this land wont was for to be  
Of sad byleene & constant vnioñ ;  
And as pat holy chirche vs taghte / we  
With herte buxum lerned our lessoñ ;  
Now han we changid our condicioñ !  
Allas ! an heap of vs, the feith werreye ;  
We waden so deepe in presumpcioñ,  
pat vs nat deyneth vn-to god obeye. 8

[leaf 31, back]

4 We are no longer  
as of old, one in  
Faith !

[2]

We rekken nat thogh Cristes lore deye ; 9  
The feend hath maad vs dronke of the poison



48 VIII. ON RICHARD II.'S BURIAL AT WESTMINSTER, 1413.

We have drunk the Devil's pelson of Heresy!

Of heresie / & lad vs a wrong weye,  
 þat torne shal to our confusioun, 12  
 But if þat left be this abusioun.  
 And yit, seur confort haue I / thynkith me :  
 Our lige lord, the kyng, is Champioun  
 For holy chirche / Crystes knyght is he ! 16

[3]

For why, o reuerent goostly fadres, yee, 17  
 And we, your sones eek', han enchesoun  
 Right greet / to thanke god in Trinitee,  
 þat of his grace / hath sent this Regioun 20  
 So noble an heed / looke vp, thow Alboun !  
 But (thank God!) Henry V. is Heresy's foe.  
 God thanke / & for thy cristen Prince preye,  
 Syn he, fo is to this Rebellioun :  
 He, of thy soules helthe, is lok' and keye ! 24

[4]

[leaf 32] What mighten folk' of good byleue seye, 25  
 If bent were our kynges affeccion  
 To the wrong part / who sholde hem help purueye ?  
 A heretic king might ruin our Faith. But God has sent us Henry,  
 A kyng set in þat wrong opinioun, 28  
 Mighte of our feith be the subuersioun ;  
 But eterne god, in persones three,  
 Hath reyned dropes of compassioun,  
 And sent vs our good kyng for our cheertee ! 32

[5]

See eek' how our Kynges benignitee 33  
 And louyng' herte / his vertu can bywreye.  
 Who has buried Our kyng Richard þat was / yee may wel see,  
 Is nat fled from his remembrance aweye. 36  
 My wit souffysith nat to peyse and weye  
 With what honour he broght is to this toun,  
 Richard II. by his Queen in Westminster Abbey.  
 And with his queene at Westmynstre in thabbeye  
 Solempnely in Toumbe leid adoun. 40

[6]

Now god, byseeche I, in conclusioun, 41  
 Henri the .V.\* in ioie & hy nobleye

~~Wood. Rich II (Hunt)~~  
Transfer

IX. BALADE TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

Regne on vs yeeres many a milioun !  
And where as þat men erren & forueye,  
Walkynge blyndly in the dirk aleye  
Of heresie / o lord god, preye I thee,  
Enspire hem / þat no lenger they folie !  
To feithes path / hem lede thy pitee ! Amen !

44 May Henry V.  
reign many  
million years!  
  
And God lead all  
Heretics to the  
Faith !  
48

? ~~a1430 (a1415) Wood. York (Hunt)~~

[IX.]

[Balade to my gracious Lord of York.]

TRANSFER TO

[Father of Edward IV. about 1448 A.D.]

CORR. ED.

[In 5-measure nines, aab, aab, bab.]

(same shelf no.)

Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

[1]

Go, little pamflet, and streight thee dresse  
Vn-to the noble rootid gentillesse  
Of the myghty Prince of famous honour,  
My gracious lord of york' / to whos noblesse  
Me recommande with hertes humblesse,  
As he þat haue his grace & his fauour  
Fownden alway / for which I am dettour  
For him to preye / & so shal my symplesse  
Hertily do / vn-to my dethes hour.

[leaf 82, back]  
Go, little pamflet,  
to the Duke of  
York,  
3

6

9

[2]

Remembre his worthynesse, I charge thee,  
How ones at Londoñ, desired he,  
Of me þat am his seruant / & shal ay,  
To haue of my balades swich plentee  
As ther weren remeynyng vn-to me ;  
And for nat wole I<sup>1</sup> / to his wil seyn nay,  
But fulfille it / as ferfoorth as I may,  
Be thow an owter<sup>2</sup> of my nycetee,  
For my good lordes lust, and game, & play.

10

12

15

18

who once at  
London askt me to  
send him all the  
Balades I had.

<sup>1</sup> Again, why not 'I wole nat' ?  
HOCOLEVE, M.P.—I.

<sup>2</sup> outputter, vent.  
E

[3]

My lord, byseeke eek' in humble maneere, 19  
 That he nat souffre thee for to appeere  
 In thonurable sighte, or the presence, 21  
 Of the noble Princesse & lady deere,  
 My gracious lady / my good lordes feere,  
 The mirour of wommanly excellence. 24  
 Thy cheer' is naght / ne haast noon eloquence  
 To moustre thee before hir' yen cleere :  
 For myn honour / were holsum thyn absence. 27

But let him not show this to his Duchess,

[leaf 88]

[4]

Yit ful fayn wolde I haue a messageer 28  
 To recommande me, with herte enteer,  
 To hir benigne & humble wommanhede ; 30  
 And at the tyme / haue I noon othir heer  
 But thee / & smal am I, for thee, the neer.  
 And if thow do it nat / than shal þat dede 33  
 Be left / & þat nat kepte I / out of drede.  
 My Lord / nat I / shal haue of thee / poweer.  
 Axe him a licence / vp on him crie & grede ! 36

tho I have none o'er to send her.

[5]

Whan þat thow hast thus doon / than aftirward 37  
 Byseeche thow þat worthy Prince Edward,  
 þat he thee leye apart / for what may tyde, 39  
 Lest thee beholde my Maister Picard.  
 I warne thee / þat it shal be ful hard  
 For thee & me to halte on any syde, 42  
 But he espie vs / yit no force / abyde !  
 Let him looke on / his herte is to me ward  
 So freendly / þat our shame wole he hyde. 45

Also, ask Prince Edward not to let Mr. Picard see it.

But, yes, let him look at it !

[6]

[leaf 88, back] If þat I in my wrytynge foleye, 46  
 As I do ofte, (I can it nat withseye,)  
 Meetrynge amis / or speke vnfittingly, 48  
 Or nat by iust peys / my sentences weye,  
 And nat to the ordre of endyting' obeye,

~~Doct. York (Hunt)~~  
 Transfer

IX. BALADE TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

And my colours sette ofte sythe awry :	51	
With al myn herte wole I buxumly,		
It to amende and to correcte, him preye ;		I'll correct it as
For vndir his correccioun stande y.	54	he tells me.
[7]		
Thow foul boock, vn-to my lord seye also,	55	
þat pryde is vn-to me so greet a fo,		
þat the spectacle, forbedith he me,	57	I'm too proud to
And hath y-doon of tyme yore ago ;		wear spectacles,
And for my sighte blyue hastith me fro,		
And lakkith þat þat sholde his confort be,	60	
No wonder thogh thow haue no beautee.		and therefore
Out vp-on pryde / causer' of my wo !		make faults.
My sighte is hurt thurgh hir aduersitee.	63	
[8]		
Now ende I thus / the holy Trinitee,	64	
And our lady / the blissid mayden free,		
My lord & lady haue in gouernance !	66	May the Trinity
And graunte hem ioie & hy prosperitee,		protect the Duke
Nat to endure / oonly two yeer or thre,		and Duchesse !
But a .M.t! and if any plesance	69	
Happe mighte, on my poore souffissance,		
To his prowesse / & hir benignitee,		
My lyues ioie it were, and sustenance !	72	
Cest tout,		

Fol. 25, Johannes Talbot, Dominus de Furnival, was first summoned to Parl<sup>t</sup> 11 H. 4, and to many subsequent Parl<sup>ts</sup> in that reign and the next . . . T. Tyrwhitt. [Note in MS.]

Balade to Duke of York, lf. 32 bk. Prince Edw<sup>d</sup> (after, Edw. IV), not born till about 1442. If we suppose him 6 years old (and he could not be much less to be under the tuition of Maister Picard), this poem was written in 1448. [Note in MS.]

? a 1430 (? a 1430) Doct. MG (West)

52

X. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF GOD.

TRANSFER TO CORR. ED.

(same shelf no.)

[X.]

Ed. Mitchell & Doyle *Ad beatam Virginem.*

(Generally calld CHAUCER'S "Mother of God.")

[In 5-measure sevens, aabb, cc.]

[1]

Mother of God,	<b>M</b> odir of god / and virgyne vndeffouled!	1
	O blisful queene / of queenes Emperice!	
Pray to Christ for sinful me!	Preye for me / þat am in synne mowled, To god thy sone / punyssher' of vice, þat of his mercy / thogh þat I be nyce, And negligent in keepyng of his lawe, His hy mercy, my soule / vn-to him drawe.	5 7

[2]

Mother of Mercy!	Modir of mercy / wey of indulgence, þat of al vertu art superlatyf, Sauer' of vs by thy beneuolence, Humble lady / mayde / modir and wyf! Causer of pees / feynter' of wo & stryf!	8 12
Present my prayer to thy Son!	My prayer' vn-to thy sone presente, Syn for my gilt I fully me repente.	14

[3]

[leaf 34, back]	Benigne confort of vs wrecches alle!	15
Be with me at my death!	Be at myn endyng' / whan þat I shal deye! O welle of pitee / vn-to thee I calle! Ful of swetnesse / helpe me to weye Ageyn the feend / þat with his handes tweye, And his might, plukke wole / at the balance To weye vs down / keepe vs from his nusance!	19 21

[4]

	And, for thow art ensauple of chastitee, And of virgynes / worsshyp and honour, Among all women blessid thow be!	22
Pray Christ to	Now speke and preye to our Sauueour,	25

þat he me sende swich grace & fauour, 26 qwench all lust in  
me!  
þat al the hete of brennyng<sup>t</sup> Leccherie  
He qwenche in me, blessid maiden Marie! 28

[5]

O blessid lady / the cleer light of day! 29  
Temple of our lord / and roote of al goodnesse!  
þat by prayers wypest cleene away  
The filthes of our synful wikkidnesse,  
Thyn hand foorth putte / & helpe my distresse, 33  
And fro temptacioun deliure me  
Of wikkid thoght / thurgh thy benignitee, 35 Deliver me from  
wicked thoughts!

[6]

So þat the wil fulfild be of thy sone, 36 [leaf 35]  
And þat of the holy goost he menlumyne.  
Preye for vs, as ay hath be thy wone!  
Lady / alle swiche emprises been thyne. Pray for us, as  
thou art wont!  
Swich an aduocatrice, who can dyuyne, 40  
As thow / right noon / our greeues to redresse:  
In thy refuyt is al our sikirnesse. 42

[7]

Thow shapen art by goddes ordenance, 43  
Mene for vs, flour of humilitee:  
Ficche þat, lady, in thy remembraunce,  
Lest our fo, the feend, thurgh his sotiltee,  
þat in awayt lyth for to cacche me, 47  
Me ouercome with his treecherie.  
Vn-to my soules helthe thow me gye! 49 Guide me to my  
soul's health!

[8]

Thow art the way of our Redempcioun, 50  
For cryst of thee hath deynd for to take  
Flessħ and eek<sup>t</sup> blood / for this entencioun,  
Vp on a crois to die for our sake:  
His precious deeth made the feendes qwako, 54  
And cristen folk<sup>t</sup> for to reioisen euere.  
From his mercy / helpe / vs we nat disseuere! 56 Let us not depart  
from His mercy!

? 21430 (~~? 21430~~) Stoed MG (Hut)

Transfer

54

X. TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF GOD.

[9]

[leaf 35, back]  
Remember thy  
woe at His Cross,

Tendrelly remembre on the wo & peyne 57  
þat thow souffridist in his passioun,  
Whan watir & blood, out of thyn yen tweyne,  
For sorwe of him, ran by this cheekes doun !  
And syn thow knowest þat the enchesoun 61  
Of his deeth was / for to saue al man kynde,  
Modir of mercy, þat haue in thy mynde ! 63

and that He died  
to save mankind.

[10]

Thou art destind  
to heal our Soules.

Wel ogh̄ten we thee worshiþe & honure, 64  
Paleys of Cryst / flour of virginitee !  
Syn vp on thee / was leid the charge & cure,  
The lord to bere, of heuene & eerthe & see,  
And alle thynges þat ther ynne be. 68  
Of heuenes kyng, thow art predestinat  
To hele our soules of hir seek estat. 70

[11]

Blessed be thy  
womb and teate !

Thy maidens wombe, in which our lord lay, 71  
Thy tetes / whiche him yaf to sowke also  
To our sauynge / be thy blessid ay !  
The birthe of Cryst / our thraldom putte vs fro,  
Ioie & honour / be now & eueremo 75  
To him and thee / þat vn-to libertee,  
Fro thraldam, han vs qwit / blessid be yee ! 77

[12]

[leaf 36]

Thou canst get  
forgiveness for all  
our sins !

By thee, lady, y-makid is the pees 78  
Betwixt Angels and men / it is no doute.  
Blessid be god, þat swich a modir chees !  
Thy gracious bountee spredith al aboute.  
Thogh̄ þat oure hertes steerne been, & stoute, 82  
Thow to thy sone canst be swich a mene,  
That aȝ our giltes he foryeueth clene. 84

[13]

By thee, the gates  
of Hell are  
broken.

Paradys yates opned been by thee, 85  
And broken been the yates eek' of helle !  
By thee / the world restored is pardē !

- Of al vertu / thow art the spryng & welle!  
 By thee, al bountee / shortly for to telle, 89  
 In heuene & eerthe, by thyn ordenance  
 Parforded is / our soules sustenance ! 91  
 [14]
- Now, syn thow art of swich auctoritee, 92  
 Lady pitous, virgyne wemmelees,  
 þat our lord god nat list to werne thee  
 Of thy requeste / I wot wel / doutelees  
 Than spare nat / foorth thee to putte in prees 96  
 To preye for vs, Crystes modir deere !  
 Benygnely wole he, thyn axyng' heere. 98  
 [15]
- Apostle, and freend familier of Cryst, 99 [leaf 36, back]  
 And his y-chosen virgyne / seint Ion /  
 Shynyng apostle / & euangelyst,  
 And best beloved among hem echon !  
 With our lady, preye I thee to been oon, 103  
 þat vn-to Cryst shal for vs alle preye :  
 Do thus for vs / Crystes derlyng, I seye ! 105  
 [16]
- Marie & Ion, heuently gemmes tweyne ! 106  
 O ligntes two, shynyng in the presence  
 Of our lord god / now do your bysy peyne  
 To wasse away our cloudeful offense,  
 So þat we mowen make resistence 110  
 Ageyn the feend / & make him to bewaille  
 þat your preyere may so moche auaille. 112  
 [17]
- Yee been the two, I knowe verrailly, 113  
 In which the fadir god gan edifie  
 (By his sone oonlygeten specially)  
 To him an hows / wherfore I to yow crye,  
 'Beeth leches of our synful maladie ! 117  
 Preyeth to god / lord of misericorde,  
 Ours olde giltes / þat he nat recorde !' 119

Pray for us ; and  
 Christ will grant  
 thy prayer !

[leaf 36, back]  
 Saint John ! join

our Lady in pray-  
 ing to Christ for  
 us !

Mary and John,

help us against  
 the Devil !

Cure our sinful  
 malady !



? 21430 (? 21430) ~~Wood. MG (Stat)~~  
 Transfer

[18]

Be our protection!  
 ' Be yee oure help and our proteccioun, 120  
 Syn, for meryt of your virginitee,  
 The priuilege of his dileccioun  
 In yow confermed god, vp on a tree  
 Hangyng! / and vn-to oon of yow seide he 124  
 Right in this wyse / as I reherce can,  
 " Beholde! heere, lo / thy sone, womman!"' 126

[19]

' And to þat othir / " heer thy modir, lo!"' 127  
 Than preye I thee / þat for the greet swetnesse  
 Of the hy loue / þat god, twixt yow two,  
 With his mowth made / and of his noblesse  
 Conioyned hath yow / thurgh his blisfulnesse, 131  
 Help us in our need!  
 As modir and sone, helpe vs in our neede!  
 And, for our giltes, make oure hertes bleede! 133

[20]

Vn-to yow tweyne / I my soule commende, 134  
 O Mary and John, Marie and Iohn, for my sauuacioun!  
 Helpith me þat I may my lyf amende!  
 Help me to make my heart the dwelling of the Holy Ghost!  
 Helpith now / þat the habitacioun  
 Of the holy goost, our recreacioun, 138  
 Be in myn herte now and eueremore!  
 And of my soule / wasshe away the sore! Amen!

Transfer to # 234 p. 76

[XI.]

Ce feust mys en le liure de monseigneur  
 Johan, lors nommez / ore Regent de  
 France & Duc de Bedford.

[In 5-measure nines, abab, bcbbe.]

[1]

[leaf 87, back]  
 To the Duke of  
 Bedford, I pre-

Vn-to the rial egles excellence,  
 I, humble Clerc, with al hertes humblesse,

This book<sup>1</sup> presente / & of your reuerence  
 Byseeche I pardon and foryeuenesse,  
 þat, of myn ignorance & lewdenesse,  
 Nat haue I write it in so goodly wyse  
 As þat me ogh̄te vn-to your worthynesse.  
 Myn yen / hath custumed bysynesse  
 So daswed / þat I may no bet souffyse.

sent this Balade,

4

tho it is not good,  
 because my work  
 9 has dazed my eyes.

[2]

I dreede lest þat my maister Massy,  
 þat is of fructuous intelligence,  
 Whan he beholdith how vnconnyngly  
 My book is metrid / how raw my sentence  
 How feeble eek been my colours: his prudence  
 Shal sore encombrid been of my folie;  
 But yit truste I / þat his beneuolence  
 Complayne wole myn insipience  
 Secretly / & what is mis / rectifie.

Mr. Massy too

13 will see its weak-  
 ness, but will (if  
 trust)

18 set it right.

[3]

Thow book<sup>1</sup> / by licence of my lordes grace,  
 To thee speke I / and this I to thee seye:  
 I charge thee / to shewe thow thy face  
 Beforn my seid Maistir / & to him preye  
 On my behalue / þat he peise and weye  
 What myn entente is, þat I speke in thee,  
 For rethorik<sup>1</sup> hath hid fro me the keye  
 Of his tresor / nat deyneth hir nobleye  
 Dele with noon so ignorant as me!

19

22

Let him weigh my  
 intent, and excuse  
 the want of  
 Rhetoric.

26

[leaf 28]

Cest tout.

<sup>1</sup> The poem, fol. 37 b. to Monsr. Johan (afterwards Duke of Bedford), and that, fol. 39 b. to the Prince (afterwards Henry V), were both sent with the book of the *Regimen of Princes*, and are added at the end of that book in MS. Reg. 17, D. XVIII. [Brit. Mus.] . . . T. Tyrwhitt (Letter pasted in the MS.).

This poem is not in MS. Reg. 17, D. VI. which the late Thos. Wright printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1860. That has only, at end, the poem on p. 61, below.

721430 (721410) Steel. Chancellor (Hut)

TRANSFER TO CORR. ED.

(same shelf no.)

Ed. Mitchell E. Doyle

[XII.]

[Balade to my Lord the Chancellor.]

[About 1407—1410. In 5-measure eights, *abab, babc.*]

[1]

My Lord, do	<b>F</b> adir in god, benigne and reuerent, My lord the Chancellor / <i>with</i> al humblesse I, your seruant at your commandement, Byseche vn-to your excellent noblesse, <i>pat</i> my patente bere may witnesse That myne arrerages been granted me : Right as your staf / your warant wole expresse / Byseche I, y, yow so my patente be.	4       8
-------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------

give me a Patent  
to get my arrears  
paid!

[2]

You've always been a good lord to me.	I truste in yow / for euere or this han yee Be my good lord / and now to stynte / I gesse, Applied is nat your benignitee, Specially / syn my poore symplesse Nat hath offendid your hy worthynesse Wityngly ; but myn herte is euere bent To sheete at yow good wil / in soothfastnesse, Ther-in am I ful hoot & ful feruent.	12       16
---------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------

[3]

[leaf 88, back]	O my lord gracious, wys, and prudent ! To me, your Clerc / beeth of your grace free ! Let see now cacche a lust and a talent Me to haue in your fauour & cheertee. Ther-on wayte I / I wayte on your bountee, That to so manye han shewid gentillesse. Let me <sup>1</sup> no stephyld been / for I am he That hope haue in yow, confort & gladnesse.	20       24
-----------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------

Do bear me  
favour now !

**Cest tout.**

<sup>1</sup> MS. me be.

[XIII.]

Cestes Balade & chanceon ensuyantes  
feurent faites a mon Meistre .H. Somer,  
quant il estoit Souztresorer.<sup>1</sup>

[Written between Michaelmas and Christmas, 1407 (?). In  
5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

<p><b>T</b>he Sonne, with his bemes of brightnesse, To man so kyndly is, &amp; norisshynge, pat lakkyng' it / day nere but dirknesse : To day he yeueth his enlumynynge, And causith al fruyt for to wexe &amp; sprynge : Now, syn pat sonne<sup>2</sup> may so moche auaiH, And moost with Somer is his soiournynge, That sesoun bounteuous we wole assaiH.</p>	<p>The sun that nourishes man</p> <p>4</p> <p>8</p> <p>comes most in summer.</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

[2]

<p>Glad cheerid Somer / to your gouvernaille And grace / we submitte al our willynge ! To whom yee freendly been / he may nat faille But he shal haue his resonable axynge : Aftir your good lust, be the sesonyng Of our fruytes / this laste Mighelmesse, The tyme of yeer was of our seed ynnynge, The lak of which / is our greet heuynesse.</p>	<p>9 [leaf 89] Then, Somer,</p> <p>12</p> <p>16</p> <p>get us our Michaelmas pay !</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

[3]

<p>We truste vp-on your freendly gentillesse, Ye wole vs helpe / and been our suppo[rt]aille. Now yeue vs cause ageyn this cristemesse For to be glad / o' lord / whethir our taille Shal soone make vs with our shippes saille To port salut ! if yow list / we may synge,</p>	<p>17</p> <p>20</p> <p>Make us glad by Christmas !</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Somer was made a Baron of the Exchequer on Nov. 8, 1408.  
See him calld Sir Henry Somer, on p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *senne*.

*Transfer*

And elles, moot vs bothe mourne & waille,  
Til your fauour vs sende releeynge. 24

[4]

We 4, Hoccleue, We, your seruantes, Hoccleue & Baillay, 25  
Baillay, Hethe and  
Offorde, pray you  
to get our Salaries  
paid;

‘Haasteth our heruest / as soone as yee may!’  
For fere of stormes / our wit is aweye; 28  
Were our seed Inned / wel we mighten pleye,  
And vs desporte / & synge / & make game,  
and then we'll sing  
you this And yit this rowndel shul we synge & seye  
In trust of yow / & honour of your name. 32

[5]

*Rowndel:*

[Rowndel, or Chauceon to Somer.]

[1: *Burden.*]

[leaf 39, back]

Summer! all  
men ar bound to  
bless thee,

Somer, þat rypest mannes sustenance  
With holsum hete of the Sonnes warmnesse,  
Al kynde of man thee holden is to blesse! (3) 35

[2]

Ay thankid be thy freendly gouernance,  
and thy glad look, And thy fressh look' of mirthe & of gladnesse! (5) 37  
Somer &c (6—8)

[3]

which cheers all  
and folk.

To heuy folk' / of thee the remembraunce  
Is salue & oynement to hir seeknesse:  
For why / we thus shul synge in Cristemesse, (11) 40  
Somer &c (12—14.)

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? 21438 Wood. RP Envy (21438)  
TRANSFER TO CORR. ED.

(same shelf no.) XIV. BALADE TO PRINCE HENRY.  
Ed. Mitchell's Doyle [XIV.]

61

Ceste balade ensuyante feust mise en le  
fin du liure del Regiment des Princes.

[See note 1, abuv, p. 57; and p. 195-6, of T. Wright's edition  
of the *De Regimine* (about 1412 A.D.), Roxb. Club, 1860.  
In 5-measure eights, *abab, baba.*]

[1]

O litil book<sup>1</sup> / who yaf thee hardynesse

Thy wordes to pronounce in the presence

Of kynges ympe and Princes worthynesse,

Syn thow al nakid art of eloquence ?

And why approachist thow his excellence,

Vnclothid, sauf thy kirtil bare also ?

I am right seur, his humble pacience

Thee yeueth hardynesse to do so.

O Book, who gave  
thee boldness to  
go before the  
the Prince of  
Wales ?

4

His patience.

8

[2]

But o thyng woot I wel; go wher thow go,

I am so pryuee vn-to thy sentence,

Thow haast, and art / and wilt been eueremo,

To his hynesse of swich beneuolence !

Thogh<sup>h</sup> thow nat do him due reuerence

In wordes / thy cheertee nat is the lesse.

And if lust be, to his magnificence,

Do by thy reed / his welthe it shal witness !

9

12

Thou art full of  
good will to him,  
tho thy words be  
poor.

16

[3]

Byseeche him, of his gracious noblesse,

Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence

Of endytynge / and with hertes humblesse,

If any thyng thee passe of negligence,

Byseeche him of mercy and indulgence,

And *pat*, for thy good wil<sup>1</sup> / he be nat fo

To thee / *pat* al seist of loues feruence !

*pat* knowith god<sup>2</sup> / whom no thyng is hid fro.

17

Pray him to ex-  
cuse thy ignor-  
ance,

20

24

as it speaks from  
love, which God  
knows.

Cest tout.

<sup>1</sup> hert—ed. Wright (MS. Reg. 17, D. VI.)    <sup>2</sup> he—ed. Wright.

[XV.]

¶ Item au Roy, que dieu pardoint!

[1]

O King, give us	Victorious Kyng, our lord ful gracious, We, humble lige men to your hynesse, Meekly byseechen yow (o kyng pitous!) Tendre pitee haue on our sharp distresse;	4
[leaf 40, back] three some money!	For, but the flood of your rial largesse Flowe vp on vs / gold hath vs in swich hate, þat of his loue and cheertee the scantnesse	
Or else we must trot into Newgate.	Wole arte vs three <sup>1</sup> to trotte vn-to Newgate.	8

[2]

	Benigne lige lord! o hauene & yate Of our confort! let your hy worthynesse Oure indigences softne / & abate! In yow lyth al / yee may our greef redresse!	12
We don't ask for much.	The somme þat we in our biñt expresse, Is nat excessif ne outrageous;	
And we've workt long and hard for it!	Our long seruice also berith witnessse, We han for it be ful laborious.	16

[3]

	O lige lord, þat han be plenteuous Vn-to your Liges / of your grace algate, Styntith nat now for to be bounteuous To vs, your seruantz of the olde date!	20
Don't stop your bounty to your old servanis,	God woot we han been ay, eerly & late, Louynge lige men to your noblesse.	
and let us turn paupers!	Lat nat the strook' of indigence vs mate, O worthy Prince! mirour of prowesse!	24

Cest tout.

<sup>1</sup> There were 4: Hoccleve, Baillay, Hethe and Offorde, on p. 60, l. 25-6.

[XVI.]

[Balade to my maister Carpenter.]

[In 5-measure sevens, *ababb*, *cc*.]

[1]  
**S**ee heer, my maister Carpenter,<sup>1</sup> I yow preyo,  
 How many chalenges ageyn me be;  
 And I may nat deliure hem by no weye,  
 So me werreyeth coynes scarsetee,  
 That ny Cousin is to necessitee.  
 For why, vn-to yow seeke I for refut,  
 Which pat of confort am ny destitut.

[leaf 41]  
 ¶ A. d B. & C. d  
 D. So. [Credi-  
 tors].  
 ¶ Ceste balade  
 feust tendrement  
 considere, & bone-  
 ment execute.  
 Mr. Carpenter,  
 I can't pay my  
 creditors.

5  
 Help me!

7

[2]  
 Tho men / whos names I aboue expresse,  
 Fayn wolden pat they and I euene were :  
 And so wolde I / god take I to witnessse !  
 I woot wel, I moot heere / or elles where  
 Rekne of my dettes / & of hem answeere.  
 Myn herte, for the dreede of god & awe,  
 Fayn wolde it qwyte / & for constreynt of lawe.

8  
 They want their  
 money.

12

14 And I do wish I  
 could pay em.

[3]  
 But, by my trouthe / nat wole it betyde !  
 And therefore, as faire as I can & may,  
 With aspen herte / I preye hem abyde,  
 And me respyte / to sum lenger day.  
 Some of hem grante / and some of hem seyn ' nay !'  
 And I so sore ay dreede an afftir clap,  
 That it me reueth many a sleep & nap.

15 But, upon my  
 word, I can't.  
 19 Some won't giv  
 me time. This  
 21 stops my sleeping.

[4]  
 If pat it lykid / vn-to your goodnesse,  
 To be betwixt [hem] and me, swich a mene

22 [leaf 41, back]

<sup>1</sup> 'Carpenter' is written over an erasure, the original having probably another name, to whose owner it had been sent, as it was doubtless afterwards sent to other moneyful folk. Carpenter was no doubt the famous town-clerk of London (1417-38), its M.P. and benefactor &c., born 1370, died 1441.



transfer

Pray keep me out of gaol!	As þat I mighte kept be fro duresse: Myn heny thoghþtes wolde it voide clene. As your good plesance is / this thyng demene! How wel þat yee doon / & how soone also, I suffre <sup>1</sup> may in qwenchyng of my wo. Cest tout.	26    28
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? 21430 (21410) Wood. ~~Somer (2) (Hart)~~  
[XVII.]

TRANSFER TO  
CORR. ED.  
(same shelf no.)  
Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

Ceste balade ensuyante feust, par la Court  
de bone compaignie, enuoiee a Ionure  
sire Henri Sommer, Chaunceller de  
leschequer,<sup>2</sup> & bn de la dicte  
Court.

[After 1408. In 5-measure sevens, *ababb*, cc.]

[1]

[on leaf 41, back]	Worshipful sir, and our freend special, And felawe, in this cas / we calle yow. Your letre sent vn-to vs / cleerly / al We haue red / & vndirstanden how It is no wit to your conceit, as now, Vse the rule foorth as we been Inne; But al an othir rule to begynne :	1    5  7
--------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------

[2]

[leaf 42] You tell us that our Club in the Temple  was founded to spend a lot of money.	Rehercyng how, in the place of honour, The Temple / for solace / & for gladnesse, Wher as nat oghte vsid been errour Of ouer mochil waast or of excesse, First wern we fowndid to vse largesse In our despenses / but for to exceede Reson / we han espyed / yee nat beede.	8    12  14
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------

<sup>1</sup> It's 'souffre' before, p. 50, l. 20; 54, l. 58, and at 68, l. 51.  
<sup>2</sup> He was to come and preside at the Court's dinner on the  
Thursday following, May 1.

## [3]

- ¶ Yee allegge eek<sup>1</sup> / how a rule hath be kept 15 Also, that we were  
 Or this / which was good / as yee haue herd seyn ; once moderate,  
 But it now late / cessed hath, & slept ;  
 Which good yow thynkith / were vp take ageyn : and we ought to  
 And but if it so be / our Court certeyn, 19 be so again,  
 Nat likly any whyle is to endure ;  
 As hath in mowthe, many a creature. 21

## [4]

- Yee wolden, þat in conseruacioun 22  
 Of our<sup>r</sup> honour / & eek<sup>r</sup> for our profyt,  
 þat thentente of our<sup>r</sup> old fundacioun  
 Obserued mighte been / & to þat plyt  
 Be brogħit as it was first / & passe al qwyt 26 and have no out-  
 Out of the daunger of<sup>r</sup> outrageous waast, rageous waste.  
 Lest with scorn & reproof, feede vs swich taast. 28

## [5]

- Vn-to þat ende, .v.j<sup>o</sup>. shippes grete,<sup>1</sup> 29 [leaf 42, back]  
 To yeue vs han yee grauntid & behgħit, You've promist to  
 To bye ageyn our dyner, flour or whete ; give us 6 great  
 And besyde it / as reson wole, & right, Nobles to buy  
 Paie your lagħ / as dooth an othir wight, flour or wheat,  
 þat by mesure rulith him, and gyeth, and pay your  
 And nat as he / whom outrage maistrieth. score too. 33

## [6]

- In your letre / contened is also, 36  
 þat if vs list to chaunge in no maneere  
 Our newe gyse, ne twynne ther-fro : And, if we'll not  
 The firste day of May, yee wole appeere, alter our new  
 (þat day yee sette be with vs in feere,) 40 fashion, you'll  
 dine with us on  
 the 1st of May.

<sup>1</sup> The great Noble of Edward III. stampd with a Ship, in which he sat, bearing his shield on his left arm, and his sword in his right hand, was issued in 1344, in honour of his naval victory over the French, off Sluys, on Midsummer Day 1340. Its worth was 6s. 8d. The Ship lasted thro' all our Kings to the early days of Q. Elizabeth. The half-Noble also had the Ship ; the quarter-Noble, not. See *Ruding*, p. 219.

? a1430 (? 1410) Wool. Somer (2) (Hut)  
 Transfer

	And to keepe it / yee wole be reedy :	
	This is theeffect of your letre soothly.	42
	[7]	
We answer:	To the whiche, in this wyse we answer :	43
You're not bound to be extravagant.	Excesse for to do / be yee nat bownde, Ne noon of vs / but do as we may bere :	
	Vp-on swich rule, we nat vs ne grownde.	
The you've plenty of money do as you think proper:	Yee been discreet / thogh yee in good habownde	47
	Dooth as yow thinkith for your honestee !	
	Yee, and we all, arn at our libertee.	49
	[8]	
[leaf 43]	At our laste dyner / wel knowen yee	50
At our last Dinner	By our Stywardes limitacioun, (As custume of our Court axith to be,) And ay at our congregacion Observed / left al excusacion,	54
you wer warnd to provide dinner for next Thursday.	Warned yee wern / for the dyner arraye Ageyn thorsday next, & nat it delaye.	56
	[9]	
Pray don't let us go without our dinner !	Be yow nat holde auysid in swich wyse As for to make vs destitut, þat day, Of our dyner / take on yow þat emprise,	57
Put down excess, if you like!	If your lust be / dryueth excesse away. Of wyse men / mochil / folk' lerne may :	61
	Discrecion mesurith euery thyng :	
	Despende aftir your plesance & lykyng' !	63
	[10]	
Be a pattern to us,	Ensaumpleth vs / let seen / & vs miroure ; As þat it seemeth good to your prudence, Reule þat day / for the thank' shal be youre ;	64
and let us drink only what you please,	Dooth as yow list be drawe in consequence ; <sup>1</sup> We trusten in your wys experience ;	68
but do give us the Dinner we expect !	But keepith wel your tourn / how so befallé, On thorsday next / on which we awayte alle.	70

Cest tout.

<sup>1</sup> Have as much wine drawn as you think fit.

TRANSFER TO CORR. ED.  
(same shelf no.) Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

[XVIII.]

Ceste balade ensupante feust translatee  
au commandement de mon Meistre  
Robert Chichele.

[leaf 48, back]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

**A**s þat I walkid in the monthe of May  
Besyde a groue in an heuy musynge,  
Floures dyuerse I sy, right fressh and gay,  
And briddes herde I eek' lustyly synge,  
þat to myn herte yaf a confortynge.  
But euere o thoghþ me stang vn-to the herte,  
þat dye I sholde / & hadde no knowynge  
Whanne, ne whidir, I sholde hennes sterte.

In May I walkt in  
a grove,

4

and thought I  
knew not when I  
should die.

8

[2]

Thynkynge thus / byfore me I say  
A crois depeynted with a fair ymage.  
I thoghþe I nas but ashes and foul clay:  
Lyf passith as a shadwe in euery age;  
And my body yeueth no better wage  
Than synne / which the soule annoyeth sore.  
I preyde god / mercy of myn outrage,  
And shoop me / him to offende no more.

9

I saw a Crucifix,

12

and prayd God for  
mercy.

16

[3]

On god to thynke / it yeueth a delyt,  
Wel for to doon / & froo synne withdrawe;  
But for to putte a good deede in respyt /  
Harmeth / swich delay is nat worth an hawe.  
Wolde god, by my speeche and my sawe,  
I mighte him and his modir do plesance,

17

20 [leaf 44]

Would God I  
might please him!

68 XVIII. AN ENGLISH BALADE TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST.

	And, to my meryt, folwe goddes lawe, And of mercy, housbonde a purueance!	24
	[4]	
Mother of Jesus!	<sup>1</sup> Modir of Ihesu, (verray god and man, þat by his deeth / victorie of the feend gat,) Haue it in mynde / thow blessid womman, For the wo / which vn-to thyn herte sat In thy sones torment / forgeete it nat!	25  28
Grant me grace to be virtuuous!	Grante me grace / to vertu me take, <sup>2</sup> Synne despyse, & for to hate al that That may thy sone & thee displesid make!	32
	[5]	
Jesus, with  concrite heart I crave thy pity!	Mercyful lord Ihesu / me heere, I preye, þat right vnkynde / & fals am vn-to thee! I am right swich; I may it nat withseye. With salte teeres craue I thy pitee, And herte contryt / mercy haue on me þat am thy recreant caytif traitour! By my dissertes, oghite I dampned be; But ay thy mercy heetith me socour.	33  36  40
	[6]	
Lady, I trust by thy prayers to be sawed.	Lady benigne / our souereyn refuyt! Seur trust haue I, to han, by thy prayeere, Of strength / & confort, so vertuous fruyt, That I shal sauf be, Crystes modir deere! My soules ship, gouerne thow, & steere! Let me nat slippe out of thy remembrance, Lest, whan þat I am rype vn-to my beere, The feend me assaille, & haue at the outrance.	41  44  48
[leaf 44, back]		
	[7]	
Lord, I thank thee Who diedst for my guilt!	To thanke thee, lord / hyly holde I am, For my gilt / nat for thyn / þat woldest die, Who souffred euere swich a martirdam. Yit thy deeth gat of the feend the maistrie,	49  52

<sup>1</sup> This begins the alternate stanzas to the Virgin and Christ.

<sup>2</sup> To betake myself to Virtue.

~~Wood. Virg. & Chr. (Hunt)~~  
Transfer

XVIII. AN ENGLISH BALADE TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST. 69

And þat, al kynde of man may testife.

O ! blessid be thy loue charitable,

þat list so deere our synful soules bie,

To make vs sauf / wher we weren dampnable.

Blessed be Thy  
love!

56

[8]

Now thy socour / o Heuenes Emperice,

Fro me, wrecche, torne thou nat thy face!

Ther as I deepe wrappid am in vice,

Gretter neede haue I / thyn help to purchase!

Vn-to the souerain leche, preye of grace,

þat he my wowndes / vouchesauf to cure,

So þat the feend my soule nat embrace,

Al thogh I haue agilt ouer mesuro.

57 Empress of  
Heaven, turn not  
thy face from me!

60

64

[9]

Wel ogh̄ten we thee thanke, gracious lord,

þat thee haast humbled, for to been allied

To vs ! auctour of pees and of concord,

On the crois was thy skin in-to blood died!

Allas ! why haue I me to synne applied?

Why is my soule encombrid so with synne?

Lord, in al þat I haue me mis gyed,

Foryeue / & of my trespas wole I blygne.

65 Gracious Lord,

68 [leaf 45]

72 forgive me, and I  
will stop my sin.

[10]

Lady / wardeyn of peple fro ruyne,

þat sauedest Theoffe and many mo!

Of thy grace, myn herte enlumyne!

For, as I trowe, & woot it wel also,

Thy might is me to warisshe of my wo.

Of thy benigne sone, mercy craue,

Of þat forueyed haue I, & mis go.

His wil is thyn / my soule keepe & saue!

73 Lady, illumine my  
heart!

76

Crave mercy of  
thy Son!

80

[11]

Lord Ihesu Cryst / I axe of thee pardoun!

I yilde me to thee, lord souereyn!

My gilt confesse I / lord / make vnioun

Betwixt thee & my soule / for in veyn

81 Lord Jesus,

84 confess my guilt.  
Unite my soul to  
Thine!

	My tyme haue I despendid in certeyn. Some of the dropes of thy precious blood þat the crois made as weet as is the reyn, Depende on me, lord merciable & good !	88
	[12]	
Mother of Mercy, Sapphire!	Lady ! þat clept art 'modir of mercy,' Noble saphir / to me þat am ful lame Of vertu, and am ther-to enemy,	89
[leaf 45, back]	Thy welle of pitee, in thy sones name, Lete on me flowe / to pouрге my blame, Lest in to Despeir þat I slippe & falle !	92
I call to thee to keep me from blame.	For my seurtee to keepe me fro blame, Of pitee, mirour, I vn-to thee calle !	96
	[13]	
	Synne, þat is to euery vertu fo, Betwixt god & me / maad hath swich debat, þat my soule is dampnyd for euere mo,	97
Christ, I shall be damd unless	But if þat mercy / which hath maad thacat Of mannes soule, þat was violat By likerous lust & disobedience, For which our lord Ihesu was incarnat,	100
thou helpst me !	Me helpe make the feend resistance !	104
	[14]	
Lady, let not	Lady ! þat art of grace spryng & sours, Port in peril / solas in heynesse ! Of thy wont bontee, keepe alway the cours !	105
the Fiend oppresse me at death !	Lat nat the feend, at my deeth me oppresse ! Torne the crois to me, noble Princessse, Which vn-to euery soor is the triacle ! Thogh my dissert be nagh't / of thy goodnesse, Ageyn the feendes wrenches, make obstacle !	108
	[15]	
Lord, I watch to gain thy mercy !	Lord, on thy grace & pitee / myn herte ay Awaitith / to purchace thy mercy.	113
[leaf 46]	Allas ! I caytif / wel I mourne may, Syn the feend serued often sythe haue y.	116

It reewith me / do *wit* me graciously,  
For I purpose to stynte of my synnes.  
What ageyn thee / mis take hath my body,  
My soule keepe fro the feendes gynnes! 120

Keep me from the  
Devil's snares!

[16]

Blessid virgyne, ensample of al vertu,  
*pat* peere hast non / of wommanhode flour!  
For the loue of thy sone, our Lord Ihesu,  
Strengthe vs to doon him seruice & honour! 121  
Lady! be mene vn-to our Sauueour,  
*pat* our soules *pat* the feend waytith ay  
To hente / & wolde of hem be possessour,  
Ne sese hem nat in the vengeable day! 124

Blessed Virgin,

strengthen us to  
serve Christ!

[17]

The flessĥ / the world / & eek' the feend my fo, 129  
My wittes alle han at hir retenance:  
They to my soule doon annoy & wo.  
For why, Lord, dreede I me of thy vengeance. 132  
With mercy, my soule in-to blisse enhance!  
Worthy marchant! saue thy marchandie,  
Which *pat* thow bogĥtest with dethes penance!  
Lat nat the feend haue of vs the maistrie! 136

Lord, lift my soul  
to blisse!

[18]

Excellent lady! in thy thogĥt impresse 137  
How & why thy chyld souffrid his tormente!  
Preye him to haue on vs swich tendrenesse,  
*pat* in the feendes net we be nat hent! 140  
At the day of his steerne iugement,  
Lat nat him leese *pat* he by deeth bogĥte!  
I woot wel / ther-to hath he no talent:  
Myngte him ther-on / for thee so to doon / ogĥte! 144

[leaf 46, back]  
Lady, pray thy  
Child to save us  
from the Devil's  
net!

[19]

Whan in a man, synne growith & rypith, 145  
The fruyt of it is ful of bittirnesse;  
But penitence cleene away it wypith,  
And to the soule yeueth greet swetnesse. 148



? a1430 (? a1430) Wood. Virg. & Chv. (Hunt)  
Transfer

O Christ the Judge, mix Mercy with thy Judgment!	O steerne Iuge / with thy rightwisnesse, Medle thy mercy / and shewe vs fauour! Vn-to our soules, maad to thy liknesse, Graunte pardoun of our stynkyng errour!	152
[20]		
O Queen,	O glorious qweene / to the repentaunt pat art refuyt / socour and medecyne! Lat nat the foule feend make his au aunt, but he hath thee byrefte any of thyne!	153   156
pray for us, and [leaf 47]	Thurgh thy prayere, thow thy sone encline His merciable grace / on vs to reyne! Be tendre of vs / o thow blissid virgyne!	160
bring us to blisse!	For if thee list / we shuln to blisse attayne.	160

Cest tout.

[End of the Phillipps MS.]

~~c1450 Wood. Cupid (Frf) [XIX.]~~

[Fairfax MS. 16 (Bodl. Lib. about 1430-40), leaf 40.]

TRANSFER TO  
 CORR. ED,  
 (same shelf no.)  
 Edd. Mitchell & Doyle

¶ <sup>1</sup>Litera Cupidinis, dei Amatoris, <sup>2</sup>directa  
 subditis suis amatoribus.<sup>1</sup>

[A.D. 1402]. [Hocclyffe (in Stowe's hand).]

[In 68 five-measure sevens, ababb, cc.]

[1]

I, Cupid, whom gods, devils, and men obey,	¶ Cupido <sup>3</sup> / vn-to whos <sup>4</sup> comaundement the gentil kynredē / of goddis <sup>5</sup> an hy, <sup>5</sup> And pepill infernal / ben obedient, And mortel folke al / seruen besely, <sup>6</sup> The goddesse sone / Sythera soothly, <sup>6</sup> to al[le] thoo / that to our deyte	1    5
greet my subjects.	ben sugetes <sup>7</sup> / hertly gretying sende we!	7

<sup>1-1</sup> The Lettre of Cupide, god of Loue, B (Bodley MS. 638, leaf 38 bk.)  
<sup>2</sup> Amoris T. (Tanner MS. 346, lf. 41). <sup>3</sup> Cvpide B. <sup>4</sup> quhois S. (But few of  
 the after variations of spelling are given.) <sup>5-5</sup> onely S. (MS. Arch. Seld. B.  
 24, lf. 211 bk.) <sup>6-6</sup> of the . . . only F, The goddesse Cithera soñ sothly S.  
<sup>7</sup> subditis S.

[2]

In general, we <sup>1</sup>wol[*len*] / that ye knowe,<sup>1</sup>  
that ladies of honour / and reuerence,  
and other gentil wymen / <sup>2</sup>haven) sowe<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>suche seed of <sup>3</sup>compleynt / in our audience,  
of men <sup>4</sup>that do hem<sup>4</sup> / outrage and offence,  
that yt oure eeres greueth / for<sup>5</sup> to here ;  
so pitouse is theffecte / of this<sup>6</sup> matere.

8 [leaf 40, back]  
I tell you that  
gentlewomen  
have so com-  
plained to me of  
men's outrages  
on them,  
12  
that my ears are  
grievd.  
14

[3]

<sup>7</sup>Passyng al londes / on) the lital<sup>7</sup> Ile  
that cleped ys albyon<sup>8</sup> / they most compleyn) :  
<sup>9</sup>they seye, that there<sup>9</sup> ys / croppes and rote of gile :  
<sup>10</sup>soo konne tho men / dyssymule[n]<sup>10</sup> and feyne<sup>11</sup>  
with stondyng dropes / <sup>12</sup>on her eyen tweyne,<sup>12</sup>  
When that her hertes / felith no distresse,  
to blynden women) / wyth her doublenesse.

15 Aboverall, in  
England  
men sham crying  
19  
21 to deceive women.

[4]

<sup>13</sup>Her wordes spoken ben / so syghyngly,<sup>13</sup>  
wyth so pitouse <sup>14</sup>chere / and contynauce,<sup>14</sup>  
that euery wyght / that meneth tru[*ē*]<sup>15</sup>ly,  
Demeth <sup>15</sup>that they in hert / haue suche<sup>15</sup> grevaunce.  
they sey, so importable / ys her penaunce,  
that but her lady / lust to schew hem grace.  
they ryght<sup>16</sup> anoone / [mote]<sup>16</sup> sterven in the place.

22 They sigh,  
look pitiful,  
26 and say they'll  
die if their ladies  
don't grant 'em  
favours,  
28

[5]

"A, lady myn," they sey / "I yowe ensure,  
<sup>17</sup>as doth<sup>17</sup> me grace / and I shal ever be—  
while that my lyfe / may last[*en*]<sup>18</sup> and endure—  
to yow as humble / and lowe in ech<sup>19</sup> degre  
as possible ys / and kepe al thing<sup>19</sup> secre

29  
and that they'll  
be as humble  
33 and secret as  
possible.

<sup>1-1</sup> will that know *3e* S. <sup>2-2</sup> haue we S. <sup>3-3</sup> Herd the trow S. <sup>4-4</sup> that  
donne thamme S : F reads wymen, as this MS. <sup>5</sup> so S. <sup>6</sup> thare S. <sup>7-7</sup> And  
passid all ye boundis of ye S. <sup>8</sup> britanze S. <sup>9-9</sup> Thai seyñ thare In S.  
<sup>10-10</sup> So can thir meñ dissvmileñ S. <sup>11</sup> seyñ B. <sup>12-12</sup> In thare eyñ tweyne  
S ; in, Speght 1602. <sup>13-13</sup> Thir wordis ben spoken generally S. <sup>14-14</sup> a chere  
and countenance S. <sup>15-15</sup> In hert that thai haue high S. <sup>16</sup> S inserts most ;  
Speght 'must.' <sup>17-17</sup> *3e* do S. <sup>18</sup> lesten S. <sup>19</sup> thing A (Ashburnham MS) S,  
thing as F. S omits aa.

ryght as youre seluen<sup>1</sup> lyst[e] / that I do ;  
and elles myn<sup>2</sup> herte<sup>3</sup> / mote brest a-two." 35

## [6]

But it's hard to know a man's heart. ful herd<sup>4</sup> yt is<sup>4</sup> to know / a manys hert ; 36  
for outwarde may<sup>5</sup> no man<sup>5</sup> / the trouthe deme ;  
<sup>6</sup>when worde out of his mouthe / may non astert,<sup>6</sup>  
but<sup>7</sup> yt by reson<sup>7</sup> semed / euery wight to<sup>7</sup> queme ;  
<sup>8</sup>so is hit seyde<sup>8</sup> of hert / as hit wolde seme. 40

Women are deceivd by false appearance. O<sup>9</sup> feythful woman / ful of<sup>10</sup> Innocence,  
thou arte deceyved / be fals appearance ! 42

## [7]

Women believe men, and grant 'em favours to save their lives. <sup>11</sup>By processe<sup>12</sup> moveth / oft woman<sup>12</sup> pite : 43  
wenyng al<sup>13</sup> thing were / as [bat] thise<sup>14</sup> men<sup>14</sup> sey,  
they graunte hem grace / of hir benignite,  
<sup>15</sup>for that men shulde nat / for her sake<sup>15</sup> dey ;  
and with good hert[e] / set hem in the wey 47  
of blesful loue / kepe yt yf they<sup>16</sup> konne :  
thus other while<sup>17</sup> women<sup>17</sup> beth y-wonne. 49

## [8]

And when the man has possession of the woman, And whann this man<sup>18</sup> / the<sup>18</sup> pot hath be<sup>18</sup> the stele, 50  
and fully is / in his possessyon),  
with that woman / kepeth he not<sup>19</sup> to dele  
he runs after any other in the town, <sup>20</sup>after, yif he may / fynde[n]<sup>20</sup> in the tovnne  
any woman / his blynde affection) 54  
Curse him ! On<sup>21</sup> to bestowe[n] / euel<sup>22</sup> mote he preve !  
a man, for al his<sup>23</sup> othes / is herde to leve !<sup>23</sup> 56

## [9]

And for that euery fals man / hath a make, 57  
(as vn-to euery wight / is lyght<sup>t</sup> to knowe,)

<sup>1</sup> selfe Sp., self F, seluen S. <sup>2</sup> that myn S. <sup>3</sup> herte Sp., hert F. <sup>4-4</sup> Is It S. <sup>5-5</sup> non S. <sup>6-6</sup> Quhañ word may non out of his mouth stert S. <sup>7-7</sup> it be resoun any wicht shuld S. <sup>8-8</sup> So it is S. B. <sup>9</sup> A S. <sup>10</sup> of Sp., om. F. <sup>11</sup> Stanzas 7-16. These verses are omitted in the Digby MS. 181. <sup>12-12</sup> women movit of S, of T also. <sup>13</sup> that all S. <sup>14</sup> om. S. <sup>15-15</sup> That they schuld not for thare loue S. <sup>16</sup> he F, they S, ye F. <sup>17</sup> This othir quhilis S, And thus o. w. F. <sup>18-18</sup> the pot hath by A S, penne F. <sup>19</sup> not S, no more F. <sup>20-20</sup> After yat . . funden S. <sup>21</sup> On A, vn F. <sup>22</sup> foule S. <sup>23-23</sup> oth . . leue A S, beleue F.

when this traytoure / this woman hath for-sake,  
 he <sup>1</sup>fast[e] spedeth him<sup>1</sup> / vn-to his felowe :  
 til he be there / his hert ys on<sup>d</sup> a lowe ;  
 hys fals deceyt / <sup>2</sup>[ne] may him not<sup>2</sup> suffise,  
 but of hys treson<sup>d</sup> / telleth al<sup>3</sup> the wise.<sup>4</sup>

61 And goes and  
tells his mates  
63 all about it.

[10]

Ys this a faire avaunte / is this honoure ?  
 a man him silfe <sup>5</sup>accuse / thus, and diffame ?<sup>5</sup>  
<sup>6</sup>[Now] ys it good / confesse him<sup>6</sup> / a traytoure,  
 and bringe a woman / to [a]<sup>7</sup> sclaudrouse name,  
 and tel<sup>8</sup> how he hir body / hathe do shame ?  
 No worshippe <sup>9</sup>may he thus / to him<sup>9</sup> conquere,  
<sup>10</sup>but grete esclaundre<sup>10</sup> / vn-to him and here !

64 Is this honour ?  
68 a man to confess  
he's a traitor,  
and tell how he's  
shamed a woman ?  
70

[11]

<sup>11</sup>[Vn] To hir <sup>12</sup>name yet / was<sup>12</sup> yt no reпре,  
 for, al for vertu / was [it]<sup>13</sup> that she wroght<sup>t</sup> ;  
 but he that brewed hath<sup>14</sup> / al this myschefe,  
 that spake so faire / and falsly<sup>15</sup> inward thoght<sup>t</sup>,<sup>16</sup>  
 his be the sclaudre / as yt be reson<sup>d</sup> oght<sup>t</sup> ;  
 and vn-to hir / [a] thank<sup>17</sup> perpetuel,  
 that in a nede<sup>18</sup> / <sup>19</sup>helpe can<sup>19</sup> so wel !

71 The woman's not  
to be blamed,  
75 but the man is.  
77

[12]

<sup>20</sup>Al-thogh of men, thorgh sleyght<sup>t</sup> / and sotilte,<sup>20</sup>  
 a sely symple / and Innocent<sup>21</sup> woman  
<sup>22</sup>betrayed ys / no wondre, sith the<sup>22</sup> cyte  
 of Troye / (as [pat] the storye telle<sup>23</sup> can)  
 be-trayed was / thorgh the<sup>24</sup> disceyt of man),

78 No wonder that  
an innocent  
woman is  
betrayd by man,  
82 for Troy was,

<sup>1-1</sup> spedith him fast S (spedeth = sped'th). <sup>2-2</sup> ne / may nat him S. <sup>3</sup> at S.  
<sup>4</sup> gwyce T. <sup>5-5</sup> accusen & defame S. <sup>6-6</sup> Now Is it good confesse him S, ys  
 it g. c. h. selfe F. <sup>7</sup> In a S, B om. <sup>8</sup> say S. <sup>9-9</sup> thus he may him self S.  
<sup>10-10</sup> Bot gett a sclander S, disclaunder Sp. T. <sup>11</sup> St. 11-16 are st. 1 to 6 in the  
 Digby MS. <sup>12-12</sup> name 3hit is D, nay yet was F, nay B T, na S. <sup>13</sup> om. T.  
<sup>14</sup> om. S. <sup>15</sup> so falsly D. <sup>16</sup> wrot S. <sup>17</sup> a thank S. <sup>18</sup> nede D, rede F, in soch  
 a need Sp. <sup>19-19</sup> can helpeñ meñ S. <sup>20-20</sup> Allthoug that meñ by slicht &  
 subtiltee S, of men D, men F, through mens Sp. <sup>21</sup> Ignorant A S. <sup>22-22</sup> Be-  
 trayse no wonder Is, señ ye S <sup>23</sup> tel F D, tell Sp., tellen S. <sup>24</sup> om. D.

and set on<sup>1</sup> fire / and [al] dovne<sup>2</sup> ouer-throwe,  
and destroyd. and fynaly dystroyed / as men knowe. 84

## [13]

<sup>3</sup>Betraied men not<sup>3</sup> / Citees<sup>4</sup> grete, and kynges? 85  
what wyght is yt<sup>5</sup> / that kan shape remedye<sup>6</sup>  
<sup>7</sup>ayens these falsely / purposed<sup>7</sup> thinges?  
who can the crafte / suche craftes<sup>8</sup> to espye,<sup>9</sup>  
Men are ever but <sup>10</sup>man, whos wytte / is euer redy<sup>10</sup> to aplye 89  
ready for falsity;  
to<sup>11</sup> thynge that <sup>12</sup>sovneth / in-to [hy]<sup>12</sup> falthede?  
Women, beth ware / of <sup>13</sup>mennys sleight,<sup>13</sup> I rede! 91

## [14]

And furthermore / han these<sup>14</sup> men in vsage, 92  
and when they've that,<sup>15</sup> where [as] <sup>16</sup>they / not lykly ben<sup>17</sup> to<sup>16</sup> spede,  
no chance them- suche as [they]<sup>18</sup> ben / with a double visage  
selves, they see a they procuren<sup>19</sup> / for to pursw her nede;  
man to court a woman for them.  
he prayeth him, in his cause / to procede, 96  
and largely <sup>20</sup>guerdoneth / he his<sup>20</sup> trauallye:  
lytell wote<sup>21</sup> wommen / how men hem<sup>22</sup> assaylle! 98

## [15]

Another wretch 'll Another wrechch / vnto his felowe seythe: 99  
tell a man in love, that  
'thow fissent fayre / she that the hath fired,  
ys fals and<sup>23</sup> inconstant / and hath no feythe!  
she, <sup>24</sup>for the rode of folke / ys so desired,<sup>24</sup>  
his girl is hired and<sup>25</sup> as an hors / fro day to day ys hired, 103  
daily by others, that when thow twynnest / fro hir companye,  
another cometh / and blered ys thyn ye! 105

## [16]

'Now prikke on<sup>1</sup> fast / and ride thy iourney 106  
and when his back's turnd while thou art there / for she, behinde thy bake,

<sup>1</sup> a S. <sup>2</sup> all S Sp. <sup>3-3</sup> men) D, Betray not men B F S T. <sup>4</sup> realmes S. <sup>5</sup> hit B, om. S. <sup>6</sup> a r. S. <sup>7-7</sup> Agayne falsely porposyd T, these falsly Sp., falsly D, false hid S. <sup>8</sup> castes S. <sup>9</sup> asprie D, espy Sp., spye F. <sup>10-10</sup> yt Is quho redy ay Is S. <sup>11</sup> In S. <sup>12-12</sup> sowning is to Sp., is sownynge T, vnto hie S, into hy A. <sup>12-13</sup> false men Sp. <sup>14</sup> othir S. <sup>15</sup> T inserts as, where as A. <sup>16-16</sup> quhare thai beñ not likly for to S. <sup>17</sup> are D. <sup>18</sup> as D, as they B F Sp., where as T, as that S. <sup>19</sup> S inserts men. <sup>20-20</sup> to guerdouñ thair S. <sup>21</sup> know S. <sup>22</sup> men hem D Sp., men F. <sup>23</sup> om. S. <sup>24-24</sup> for hir fude of folk Is so disirit S., . desered F. <sup>25</sup> That S.

so lyberal ys / she wol no wyght<sup>1</sup> with-sey,  
but smertly of another / take a snake;<sup>2</sup>  
for thus thes wommen / faren, al the pake; 110 she'll take a  
some one else,  
who so hem trusteth / hanged mot he be!  
ay<sup>3</sup> they desyren chaunge / and nouelte!' 112 as women like  
change.

[17]

<sup>4</sup>Wherof procedeth this / but of envye? 113  
for he him selfe / hyre ne wyne<sup>5</sup> may,  
he speketh hir reprefe / and vileyny[e],  
as mannes blabbyng<sup>6</sup> tong / ys wont alway:  
thus dyuers men / ful <sup>7</sup>often make<sup>7</sup> assay 117  
for to <sup>8</sup>distourben folke / in sondry<sup>8</sup> wyse,  
for they may not / acheven<sup>9</sup> her empyse. 119  
When a man can't  
win a woman,  
he abuses her.

[18]

ful many a mau<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>eke / wolde<sup>11</sup> for no good, 120  
(that hath <sup>12</sup>in loue / his tyme<sup>12</sup> spent and vsed),  
Men wyste <sup>13</sup>his lady,<sup>13</sup> his axyng<sup>14</sup> withstood,  
and<sup>15</sup> that he <sup>16</sup>were / of hyr pleynly<sup>16</sup> refused, 123 Tho' everyone  
knows his lady  
refused him,  
or wast and<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup>veyn, wer / al that he had<sup>18</sup> mused;  
wherfore he can / no better<sup>19</sup> remedye,  
but on<sup>20</sup> his lady / shapith him to lye. 126 he begins to lie  
about her.

[19]

'Euery womman,' he seyth / 'ys lyght to gete, 127 He says any  
woman can be  
got if she's well  
courted.  
(kan noon sey nay) / if she be wel I-soght':<sup>21</sup>  
who so may <sup>22</sup>han leyser<sup>22</sup> / with her<sup>23</sup> to trete,

<sup>1</sup> nothing Sp. <sup>2</sup> smacke Sp. <sup>3</sup> Euer Sp. <sup>4</sup> The collations markt D are from the Digby MS. 181, in the Bodleian Library. This MS. begins the poem with stanzas 11—16 of the Ashburn. version. It then has stanzas 7—16 the same as 17—26 here, then leaves out stanzas 7—10, then takes as its stanzas 17—26 the Ashb. 37-9, 50-6, and after that runs with the Fairfax, its stanzas 37—58 corresponding with Fairfax 47—68. See p. 92 below. <sup>5</sup> wennen S. <sup>6</sup> blabbyng D Sp., babbyng St. B, labbing S T. <sup>7-7</sup> of will mak S. <sup>8-8</sup> distrouble folk on sunder S: distourble T. <sup>9</sup> haue D, obtaine Sp. <sup>10</sup> Many one Sp. <sup>11-11</sup> wolde eke D, wald eke S. <sup>12-12</sup> his tyme in love D. <sup>13-13</sup> that sithe S. <sup>14</sup> askyng' D. <sup>15</sup> Ere Sp. <sup>16-16</sup> war planly of hir S. <sup>17</sup> or S. <sup>18-18</sup> vayn all that he had D A, . . . hath F. <sup>19</sup> none other Sp. <sup>20</sup> onely T. <sup>21</sup> sought D. <sup>22-22</sup> leiser haue D, leiser haue Sp., leyser haue T. <sup>23</sup> thame S.

of his purpose / ne<sup>1</sup> shal he faile noght,  
 but he on<sup>2</sup> maddyng<sup>2</sup> / be so depe ybrought,<sup>3</sup> 131  
 that he<sup>3</sup> shende al / with open homelynesse,<sup>4</sup>  
<sup>5</sup>that louen wymmen / nat as<sup>5</sup> that, I gesse.<sup>7</sup> 133

## [20]

To sclauder women / thus, what may profyte? 134  
 too gentils<sup>6</sup> namely / that <sup>7</sup>hem armen sholde,<sup>7</sup>  
 and in<sup>8</sup> defence of wommen / hem delyte,  
<sup>9</sup>as that<sup>9</sup> the ordre / of gentillesse<sup>10</sup> wolde :  
 yf that a man / lyst gentil to be holde, 138  
 he <sup>11</sup>moot flee al<sup>11</sup> that / ther-to ys contrarye :  
 a sclaudryng<sup>12</sup> tong / is his grete aduersarye.<sup>13</sup> 140

Gentlemen should  
 arm in defence of  
 women.

## [21]

A foule thing<sup>14</sup> ys / of tonge to be lyght<sup>15</sup>; 141  
 for who so mychel<sup>15</sup> clappeth<sup>16</sup> / gabbeth ofte.  
 the tonge of<sup>17</sup> men<sup>17</sup> so <sup>18</sup>swyft ys / and so<sup>18</sup> wyght,  
 that whan it is areysed / vp on<sup>19</sup> lofte,  
 reson yt seweth<sup>19</sup> / so slowly and softe, 145  
 that it<sup>20</sup> him neuer / ouer-take may :  
 lord ! so thise men / beth trusty in asay ! 147

Great talkers gab  
 nonsense.

## [22]

Al-be-hyt that man<sup>21</sup> fynde / o<sup>22</sup> woman<sup>22</sup> nyce, 148  
 In-constant, recheles / or varriable,  
<sup>23</sup>Deynouse, or proude<sup>23</sup> / fulfilled of malice,  
 Wythouten<sup>24</sup> feyth or love / and deceyvable,  
<sup>25</sup>sly, queynt, and fals<sup>25</sup> / in al vnthrift<sup>26</sup> coupable, 152  
 Wikked, and feers / and<sup>27</sup> ful of cruelte,  
 yt foloweth nat<sup>28</sup> / that swich<sup>29</sup> al wommen be. 154

The' one woman  
 is inconstant

and deceitful,

it doesn't follow  
 that all are.

<sup>1</sup> om. D. <sup>2</sup> madnesse Sp. <sup>3</sup> om. S. <sup>4</sup> humylnes S. <sup>5-5</sup> And that loue nothing women as S, love D., they doten as Sp., nat as D. <sup>6</sup> To gentillesse Sp. <sup>7-7</sup> thame honour schald S. <sup>8</sup> om. D, Sp. puts 'and' after 'women.' <sup>9-9</sup> And S. <sup>10</sup> gentilnesse D T. <sup>11-11</sup> must all eschewe Sp. <sup>12</sup> sclaudrous Sp., S. <sup>13</sup> MS. aduersyte. <sup>14</sup> vice Sp., foule wise of t. S. <sup>15</sup> moche D. <sup>16</sup> chappith and S. <sup>17</sup> man S. <sup>18-18</sup> swight and so D, swyft ys / and is F. <sup>19</sup> is shewed Sp., schewit S. <sup>20</sup> it D, yf F. <sup>21</sup> men<sup>21</sup> D. <sup>22</sup> one Sp. <sup>23-23</sup> Sclee queynt and false S, Deignous Sp. <sup>24</sup> With out D. <sup>25-25</sup> Deynouse and proud S. <sup>26</sup> vntrust Sp., vntriste comparable B. <sup>27</sup> om. S, and reads fulfillit. <sup>28</sup> not D. <sup>29</sup> suche D.

[23]

When that <sup>1</sup> the high god <sup>1</sup> / Aungels formed had,	155	
a-monge hem al[le] / wheither ther were noon		Of the Angels, wasn't one bad?
that founden was / malicious and bad?		
Yis! al men woot / that ther was many oon,		Yes.
that for hir pride / fil <sup>2</sup> from heven anoon):	159	
<sup>3</sup> shul men therefore <sup>3</sup> / al Aungels, proude name?		Are all angels therefore proud?
Nay! he that that <sup>4</sup> susteneth / is to blame.	161	

[24]

Of twelve apostels, oon / a traytour was :	162	Of the Apostles, one was a traitor, but the rest were true.
the remenant, yit / good[e] were and triwe.		
than, <sup>5</sup> yf it happe / men fynde[n], per caas, <sup>6</sup>		
oo <sup>7</sup> womman fals / swich <sup>8</sup> is good for <sup>9</sup> to eschiwe,		
and deme nat <sup>10</sup> that they <sup>11</sup> / ben al[le] vntrewe!	166	So of women.
I se <sup>12</sup> wel / mennes owne <sup>13</sup> fals[e]nesse,		
hem causeth wommen / for to trusten lesse.	168	

[25]

<sup>14</sup> O! euery man <sup>14</sup> oght <sup>14</sup> haue / an herte tendre	169	Every man ought to think women honourable.
vn-to <sup>15</sup> woman / and deme hir honourable,		
wheither his shap be / outhr thikke or slender, <sup>16</sup>		
or he be badde or good / this <sup>17</sup> ys no fable.		
euery man woot / that witte hath resonable,	173	He's the son of one.
that of a woman / he descended <sup>18</sup> ys :		
than ys yt shame, of hir / to speke amys!	175	It's a shame to speak ill of her.

[26]

A wikked tre, gode frute / may noon forth bryng ;	176	
for swiche <sup>19</sup> the frute ys / as that is the tre.		As the tree, so is the fruit.
take hede of whom / thou took thy bygynnyng!		
lat thy moder / be Merour vnto the!		
honure hir / yf thou wolt honoured be!	180	Honour your Mother!

<sup>1-1</sup> god the hie D. <sup>2</sup> fett D. <sup>3-3</sup> Shuld me for them yeue Sp. <sup>4</sup> that that D, that F. <sup>5</sup> So Sp. <sup>6</sup> parcas D. <sup>7</sup> A D. <sup>8</sup> suche D, a soch good is Sp. <sup>9</sup> om. B S T. <sup>10</sup> not D. <sup>11</sup> all S. <sup>12</sup> S inserts full. <sup>13</sup> owne Sp., oone F. <sup>14-14</sup> Euery ought to D. <sup>15</sup> vnto a Sp. <sup>16</sup> sklendre B, sklendir D. <sup>17</sup> it Sp. <sup>18</sup> destended F, discendit S, discended Sp. <sup>19</sup> suche D.



Dispise thou hir nat / in no manere,  
Lest that ther-by / thy wikkydnesse appere ! 182

[27]

It's a bad bird  
that fouls its  
own nest.

An olde proverbe / seyde ys in englyssh : 183  
men seyn ' that brid or foule / ys dyshonest,  
what that he<sup>1</sup> be / and holden ful<sup>2</sup> chirlyssh,  
that vseth to defoule / his ovne neste.'

Men shouldn't  
abuse women.

men, to say wel of wymen / <sup>3</sup>yt is<sup>3</sup> best, 187  
and <sup>4</sup>nat to displesen hem / ne deprauē,<sup>4</sup>  
yf that <sup>5</sup>they wol hir<sup>5</sup> honour / kepe and<sup>6</sup> saue. 189

[28]

Women say that  
Clerks write  
books against  
em,

These ladyes eke<sup>7</sup> / <sup>8</sup>compleynen hem on<sup>8</sup> clerkes, 190  
that <sup>9</sup>they han made bokes / of hir diffame,  
In which <sup>10</sup>dispisen they / womman[e]s<sup>10</sup> werkes,  
and speken of hem / grete reprefe and shame,  
and causeles yiven<sup>11</sup> hem / a wikked name : 194  
thus they dyspysed ben / on) euery syde,  
<sup>12</sup>and sclaudred,<sup>12</sup> and bylowen<sup>13</sup> / on) ful wyde. 196

[29]

on how they  
betrayd David,  
Solomon, &c.,

The sory bokes / maken mensyon) 197  
how they betrayden<sup>14</sup> / in especial,<sup>15</sup>  
adam, dauid, sampson) / and salamon),  
and many oon) mo / <sup>16</sup>who may reheresen al<sup>16</sup>  
the treson) / that they haue done <sup>17</sup>and [ay] shal<sup>17</sup> 201  
<sup>18</sup>the world hir malice / may not comprehende :<sup>18</sup>  
<sup>19</sup>as that theys<sup>19</sup> clerkes seyn / yt hath noon) ende. 203

[30]

Ovid, in his  
*Remedy of Love*,  
abused women,  
and was a fool for  
doing it.

Ouyde in his boke<sup>20</sup> / called ' remedye 204  
of loue ' / grete reprefe of wommen writeth ;  
wherin, I trowe, he dide / grete folye,

<sup>1</sup> that he D Sp., he F. <sup>2</sup> for S. <sup>3-3</sup> Is ye S, is the D. <sup>4-4</sup> deprise thame  
nor 3it d. S, not for to dispysed D B T. <sup>5-5</sup> 3e wald 3our S. <sup>6</sup> or Sp. <sup>7</sup> euer Sp.  
<sup>8-8</sup> complene thame of S, compleyn) D. <sup>9</sup> That that D. <sup>10-10</sup> they dispise  
women and her Sp. <sup>11</sup> yeve D. <sup>12-12</sup> Disclaundred Sp. <sup>13</sup> blown S, belyed T.  
<sup>14</sup> betraied D, haue betrayed S. <sup>15</sup> especyatt D, especial Sp., special F, special  
S. <sup>16-16</sup> quho reherseñ schall S. <sup>17-17</sup> and all S. <sup>18-18</sup> The warld may nat yer  
malice c. S : wordle D, worde T. <sup>19-19</sup> And that ve S. <sup>20</sup> bokis B.

and euery wyght / that <sup>1</sup>in such case delyteth.<sup>1</sup>  
 a clerkys custome ys / whan he endyteth 208 Clerks always do  
 of women, be yt prose / or<sup>2</sup> ryme, or vers, naughty, tho they  
<sup>3</sup>seye they<sup>3</sup> ben wikke / al knowe he the revers. 210 know it isn't true.

[31]

And that boke, scolers / lerne in <sup>4</sup>hir chyldehede,<sup>4</sup> 211  
 for they of women / <sup>5</sup>be war sholde<sup>5</sup> in age,  
 and for to <sup>6</sup>louen hem / euer ben<sup>6</sup> in drede,  
 syn<sup>7</sup> to deceyve / is set al hire<sup>8</sup> corage.  
 they seyn, <sup>9</sup>perylle / to cast, ys avauntage,<sup>9</sup> 215  
<sup>10</sup>and namely suche<sup>10</sup> / as men <sup>11</sup>han in be wrapped,<sup>11</sup>  
 for many a man by woman<sup>12</sup> / hath myshapped.<sup>13</sup> 217

[32]

<sup>14</sup>No charge, whatso / thyse clerkys<sup>14</sup> seyn : 218 I don't care what  
 of al hir wrong wryting / I do no cure ; writers say  
 al hir trauayle and labour<sup>15</sup> / ys in veyn),  
 For, betwex me / and my lady<sup>16</sup> nature,  
 shal nat<sup>17</sup> be suffred / while the world may dure, 222  
 these<sup>18</sup> clerkys / by <sup>19</sup>hir cruel<sup>19</sup> tyranie,  
<sup>20</sup>thus vpon<sup>20</sup> wymmen / kythen hir maystrie. 224 against women.

[33]

Whylom ful mony<sup>21</sup> of hem<sup>22</sup> / wer in my cheyne 225 Many of 'em were  
 y-tyed<sup>23</sup> / and now, what for vnweldy age, lovers once, but  
 and for vnlust, may not / to love atteyne,<sup>24</sup> have grown  
 and seyn, that love ys / but werray<sup>25</sup> dotage. useless.  
<sup>26</sup>thus, for that they hem selfe<sup>26</sup> / lakken corage, 229  
 they folke exciten<sup>27</sup> / by hir wykked sawes,  
 for to rebelle<sup>28</sup> agayn<sup>29</sup> me / and my lawes. 231

<sup>1-1</sup> on suich delitteth S. <sup>2</sup> om. D B. <sup>3-3</sup> To seye ye S. <sup>4-4</sup> ther childhode  
 D, S om. hir <sup>5-5</sup> schuld be war S. <sup>6-6</sup> loue thame euir be S, love D. <sup>7</sup> Siuch  
 S. <sup>8</sup> ther D. <sup>9-9</sup> of perel men should cast thauauntage Sp., tast D.  
<sup>10-10</sup> Namely of such Sp. <sup>11-11</sup> haue in be wrappes B, ben I-wrapped D, be-  
 wrapped Sp., be-wrappes F. <sup>12</sup> women D S. <sup>13</sup> myshapped D Sp., myshappes  
 F B. <sup>14-14</sup> Now charge is quhat so thir clerkis S, charge is Sp., howso this B.  
<sup>15</sup> labour and tr. Sp. S. <sup>16</sup> om. S. <sup>17</sup> not D, nat A S T, noon F. <sup>18</sup> Thus these  
 Sp. <sup>19-19</sup> outrageous A. <sup>20-20</sup> on selie Sp. <sup>21</sup> many D, meny B. <sup>22</sup> them D.  
<sup>23</sup> ycheined S. <sup>24</sup> susteyne S. <sup>25</sup> verry D, veray S. <sup>26-26</sup> Thus for thame selueñ  
 S, silf D. <sup>27</sup> excerses S. <sup>28</sup> reule S. <sup>29</sup> ayens D.

## [34]

Yet, those who blame women most,	But mawgre hem / that blamen wommen most,	232
	suche is <sup>1</sup> the force / of myn impressyon),	
	that <sup>2</sup> sodenly / I felle <sup>2</sup> can hir bost,	
	and al hir wrong / ymagynacion);	
I can make 'em love the foulest sint	yt shal not ben / in her elleccion),	236
	the foulest slutte / of al a <sup>3</sup> tovne refuse, <sup>4</sup>	
	yf that me lyst <sup>5</sup> / for al that they can muse;	238

## [35]

	But hir in hert / as breynngly desire,	239
as if she were a duchess.	as thogh she were / a duchesse or a quene;	
	so can I folkes hertys / set on fire,	
	and as me list hem <sup>6</sup> sende / Ioy or tene.	
	they that to wommen / <sup>7</sup> ben ywhett <sup>7</sup> so kene,	243
	my sharp[e] <sup>8</sup> persyng strokes / how they <sup>8</sup> smyte,	
	shul fele, and knowe / and how <sup>9</sup> they kerve <sup>9</sup> and byte.	

## [36]

Ovid too, and other	Perdee, <sup>10</sup> this grete <sup>11</sup> clerke / this sotil Ouyde,	246
	and <sup>12</sup> mony another / han <sup>12</sup> deceyved be	
	of women) / as yt knowen ys ful wyde;	
	Wote no man <sup>13</sup> more / and that is grete deynte,	
	so excellent a clerk / as that was he,	250
abusers, were trickt by women.	and other mo that koude / so <sup>14</sup> wel preche,	
	betrapped wer / for aght <sup>15</sup> they coude teche.	252

## [37]

	And trusteth wel / that yt <sup>16</sup> is no mervaylle,	253
Women are up to them and their lies.	ffor women <sup>17</sup> knywen / pleynly <sup>17</sup> hir entent;	
	they wiste how sotyly / they koude assayle	
	hem, and <sup>18</sup> what falshode / they in hert[e] <sup>18</sup> ment;	
	and <sup>19</sup> this clerkys / they <sup>19</sup> in hir daunger hent;	257

<sup>1</sup> is the D Sp., is F. <sup>2-2</sup> sotelly y felle T. <sup>3</sup> in all the Sp., þe B. <sup>4</sup> to refuse B. <sup>5</sup> lust D. <sup>6</sup> sem T. <sup>7-7</sup> yhurt S. <sup>8-8</sup> strokis Percyng quho þe S. <sup>9-9</sup> þe berñ S. <sup>10</sup> Parde D. <sup>11</sup> om. Sp. <sup>12-12</sup> many D, m. oñe othir haue S. <sup>13</sup> Wote no mañ S, What no men F. <sup>14</sup> full Sp. <sup>15</sup> ought D. <sup>16</sup> ys F, it Sp. <sup>17-17</sup> knewe full p. S. <sup>18-18</sup> y<sup>t</sup> . . . thair hert S. <sup>19-19</sup> thus they clerkes Sp., haue for they S.

with oo venym / another was distroyed ;  
and thus thise clerkes / often were anoyed. 259

[38]

These ladyes ne thise gentils / neuerthelesse, 260 Ladies didn't do  
were noon of thoo / that wroghten in this wysse ;<sup>1</sup> this, but only  
but swyche<sup>2</sup> filthes<sup>3</sup> / as weren vertulesse, queans.  
they quyttten thus / this olde clerkis wisse ;<sup>4</sup>  
To<sup>5</sup> clerkis, <sup>6</sup>for-thy, lesse<sup>6</sup> may<sup>7</sup> suffyse 264 Clerks should not  
than to deprave<sup>8</sup> wommen / generally ; defame women.  
for worshippe shul they gete / noon therby. 266

[39]

If that thise men / that louers hem pretende, 267 If these pretended  
to women weren <sup>9</sup>feythfull / good<sup>9</sup> and trewe, lovers were true  
and dreden hem / to deceyven or offende, to women,  
women, to loue hem / wolde nat eschewe ; women would  
but euery day hath man / an herte<sup>10</sup> newe : 271 love them.  
yt, vpon oon, abide / can no while.  
what fors ys it / swich a wight to be-gile ? 273

[40]

Men) beren eke this women) / vpon) honde, 274 Men say too that  
that lyghtly / and wyth-outen<sup>11</sup> any peyne, any man can win  
they <sup>12</sup>wonne ben / they can<sup>12</sup> no wyght withstonde, women,  
that his disese / list to hem compleyne : 277  
<sup>13</sup>they been so freel / they mowe hem nat refreyne ;<sup>13</sup> so frail are they.  
but who so lyketh / may hem lyghtly haue,  
so ben hir hertys / esy in to graue.<sup>14</sup> 280

[41]

To<sup>15</sup> maister Iohn de Meun / as I suppose, 281 It was a nasty  
Than<sup>16</sup> yt was / a lewde occupacion) job of Jean de  
In makyng of the Romance / of the Rose, Meun,

<sup>1</sup> wise Sp. <sup>2</sup> suche D. <sup>3</sup> fillokes S. <sup>4</sup> wise Sp. <sup>5</sup> To Sp., The F D. <sup>6-6</sup> ffor they lasse D. <sup>7</sup> might Sp. <sup>8</sup> disprauē Sp. <sup>9-9</sup> g. f. T. <sup>10</sup> hert F D, hurte Sp. <sup>11</sup> wyth out D, without eny B. <sup>12-12</sup> women beñ that cañ S. <sup>13-13</sup> They be so fre T, not D B, Thai haue suich mercj / they may no mañ with-seyne S. <sup>14</sup> graue D Sp., craue F. <sup>15</sup> To D Sp., I F. <sup>16</sup> Then) D Sp., an F.

in his *Romance of the Rose*, to devise so many tricks to deceive a poor girl.

so many a sly / ymagynacion  
and perils<sup>1</sup> / for to rollen<sup>2</sup> vp and down, 285  
so longe processe / so many a slye cautele,  
for to deceyve / a sely damesele ! 287

## [42]

Nat<sup>3</sup> can I<sup>4</sup> seen / ne<sup>4</sup> my wytte comprehende, 288  
that art and peyn<sup>5</sup> / and sotilte [s]holde<sup>6</sup> faylle  
for to conquere / and some make an ende,  
<sup>7</sup>whan man a feble place / shal<sup>7</sup> assaylle,  
and <sup>8</sup>soone also<sup>8</sup> / to venquyssh a bataylle, 292  
of whiche no wyght / dar maken<sup>9</sup> resistance,  
Ne hert hath noon / to stonden<sup>10</sup> at<sup>10</sup> defence ; 294

## [43]

But if it takes so much trouble to deceive a woman,

surely she's more constant than some clerks say.

Than <sup>11</sup>yt moot<sup>11</sup> folowen<sup>11</sup> / of necessite, 295  
syn<sup>12</sup> art asketh / so grete engyn and peyne  
a woman <sup>13</sup>to dysceve / what she<sup>13</sup> be  
of constance<sup>14</sup> / they ben<sup>15</sup> not so bareyne  
<sup>16</sup>as that somme of thise / sotil clerkys feyne ;<sup>16</sup> 299  
but they ben / <sup>17</sup>as that wommen oghten be,<sup>17</sup>  
sad / constant / and fulfilled of pite.<sup>18</sup> 301

## [44]

See what a friend Medea was to the false Jason,

How frendely was / Medea to Iason 302  
in the<sup>19</sup> conquering / of the flees<sup>20</sup> of golde !  
how falsly quyt he / hir affeccion,  
by whom victorie he gate / as he hath<sup>21</sup> wolde !  
how may this man, for shame / be<sup>22</sup> so bolde 306  
to falsen<sup>23</sup> hir / that from his dethe and shame  
him kept,<sup>24</sup> and gat him / so grete pris and name ? 308

<sup>1</sup> perelous T, perillis S. <sup>2</sup> rott D. <sup>3</sup> Not D. <sup>4-4</sup> say ne Sp. S, ne in F. <sup>5</sup> part S. <sup>6</sup> schulde T, schulde S. <sup>7-7</sup> When D, Queñ a mañ schall a f. p. S. <sup>8</sup> also soñ S. <sup>9</sup> may make Sp. <sup>10</sup> to make any Sp. <sup>11-11</sup> mote It falow S, ffolowe D. <sup>12</sup> sich S, om. so. <sup>13-13</sup> for to Dissaue quho S : what so Sp. <sup>14</sup> confiaunce B, constaunte S. <sup>15</sup> be they Sp. <sup>16-16</sup> As ar sum meñ Or othir subtile clerkes S. <sup>17-17</sup> richt as Womeñ oucht to be S, ought to D. <sup>18</sup> bountee S. <sup>19</sup> the grete D, the om. S. <sup>20</sup> flees D, flece Sp., flece F, flesse S. <sup>21</sup> haue D, S om. hath. <sup>22</sup> durst be D. <sup>23</sup> flaylen D T. <sup>24</sup> helped, om. him, a priss S.

[45]

Of troye also / the traytour<sup>1</sup> Eneas, 309 and Dido to the  
the feythles wrecheñ / how hath he him for-swore<sup>2</sup> faithless wretch  
to dido, that queen / of Cartage was, Eneas.  
that him releved / of his <sup>3</sup>smertys sore!<sup>3</sup>  
what gentillesse<sup>4</sup> myght<sup>5</sup> she / han doon more 313  
than<sup>5</sup> she with hert vnfeyned / to hym kydde?  
and what myschefe <sup>6</sup>to hir / ther-of<sup>6</sup> betydde! 315

[46]

In my legende of Martres<sup>7</sup> / men may<sup>8</sup> fynde 316 In my *Legend of*  
(who so<sup>9</sup> that lyketh therin / for<sup>10</sup> to rede,) *Martyrs* you may  
that oothe in no<sup>11</sup> behest / <sup>12</sup>may no man bynde;<sup>12</sup> see that oaths can  
of repreuable shame / han they no drede; bind no man,  
In mannes hert[e] / trouthe hath no<sup>13</sup> stede; 320  
the soyl ys noght / ther may no trouthe growe!  
to womman namely / yt is nat un-knowe.<sup>14</sup> 322 as women know.

[47]

Clerkes seyn also / 'ther is no malice 323 Clerks say there's  
vnto a<sup>15</sup> womans / crabbed wykkynesse!' no naughtiness  
O woman! how shalt thou<sup>16</sup> / thy self chevice, like a woman's.  
<sup>17</sup>syn men) of<sup>17</sup> the / so <sup>18</sup>muchel harme wytnesse?<sup>18</sup>  
No fors! doo forth / take<sup>19</sup> no<sup>20</sup> heuynesse! 327  
kepe<sup>20</sup> thyn) ownë / <sup>21</sup>what men) clappe<sup>21</sup> or crake!  
and somme of hem shul smert / I vndertake! 329

[48]

'Malice' of women) / what is yt to drede? 330 But women's  
they sle no men) / dystroyen<sup>22</sup> no citees! naughtiness  
<sup>23</sup>they not oppressen folke / ne over-lede,<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Duke D. <sup>2</sup> forfare S. <sup>3-5</sup> hertes s. S. <sup>4</sup> gentilnesse D. <sup>5</sup> Than) D, That  
F B. <sup>6-6</sup> thare-of to hir S. <sup>7</sup> Cupid's or Chaucer's 'Legend of Good Women'  
[Skeat]. Speght wrongly reads 'natures.' <sup>8</sup> may men) D T. <sup>9</sup> om. D. <sup>10</sup> om.  
D. <sup>11</sup> othe ne Sp. S T. <sup>12-12</sup> men may fynde S. <sup>13</sup> neur S. <sup>14</sup> not vmk[n]owe  
D. <sup>15</sup> om. D. <sup>16</sup> shaltow T. <sup>17-17</sup> Sith D, Sich men) to S. <sup>18-18</sup> moche harm  
alle gois S; moche D, soch (for 'so muchel') Sp. <sup>19</sup> and take S. <sup>20</sup> noon D.  
Speght's line is 'Beth ware, women, of her fikelness.' <sup>21-21</sup> quhat so men  
clepe S. <sup>22</sup> ne dystroy S. <sup>23-23</sup> ne not oppresses folk In no seyn led S.

doesn't hurt  
kingdoms or set  
houses on fire.

betray Empires / <sup>1</sup>Remes ne ducheas,<sup>1</sup>  
ne men<sup>2</sup> bereve hir landes / ne hir Mees,<sup>2,3</sup> 334  
empoysone folkys / ne houses set on<sup>4</sup> fire,  
ne false contractes / maken for non<sup>4</sup> hire ! 336

## [49]

Women have, as  
a rule, trust, love  
and good morals.

Trust, perfyte loue / and entere<sup>5</sup> charyte, 337  
fervent<sup>6</sup> wyl / and entenlented<sup>7</sup> corage  
<sup>8</sup>be thewes<sup>8</sup> good / as <sup>9</sup>yt sytt<sup>9</sup> wel to be,  
han women ay<sup>10</sup> / of custome and vsage ;  
and wel they kan / a<sup>11</sup> mannes yre aswage 341  
with soft[e] wordes / discreet<sup>12</sup> and benigne :  
what they be<sup>13</sup> Inward / sheweth<sup>14</sup> outwarde sygne.

## [50]

Women's hearts  
are devout and  
amiable.

Womman[ne]s herte / vn-to no cruelte 344  
enclnyed ys / but they ben charitable,  
pitouse, devoute / ful of humylite,  
shamefaste,<sup>15</sup> debonarie<sup>16</sup> / and amyable,  
Dredful / and of<sup>17</sup> hir wordes mesurable : 348  
what woman thise<sup>18</sup> / hath not, perauenture,  
<sup>19</sup>Ne folweth nat<sup>19</sup> / the wey of hir nature. 350

(If otherwise,  
they're un-  
natural.)

## [51]

Men say that Eve  
made all folk  
lose their liberty.

Men seyn, 'oure first[e] moder / natheles, 351  
made al man-kynde / lese<sup>20</sup> his lyberte,  
and naked yt<sup>21</sup> of Ioy[e] / douteles ;  
<sup>22</sup>ffor goddis hestes / disobeyed she,<sup>22</sup>  
whan she presumed / tasten of a<sup>23</sup> tre 355  
wichch<sup>24</sup> god forbad / that she ne ete of sholde ;  
<sup>25</sup>and nade the deuel ben / namore she wolde.'<sup>25</sup> 357

1-1 realmis ne Duchess S, Duchesses D. 2-2 bireven) D, bereuen landes nor thar socs S. 3 Messuages, houses and lands, holdings. See *Catholicon*. 4 no D. 5 euir S. 6 frauard S. 7 entalented D B. 8-8 To D, All Sp., To thewis S B T. 9-9 sittith D Sp. 10 euer Sp. 11 they conne Sp. 12 swete D S. 13 ben) D. 14 they shew Sp. 15 Schamefull S. 16 debonayr D. 17 and of D Sp., of F. 18 that S. 19-19 Followeth not Sp. 20 lose D, to lese S. 21 him S. 22-22 for that . . . hest disobeyt ache S, heste T. 23 the D Sp. B T. 24 That Sp. 25-25 But jit ye fend that agayn stoden wold S ne wolde F.

[52]

The envious suellyng / that the fend, our fo, 358  
had vnto man in herte<sup>1</sup> / for his welthe,  
sent a serpent / and made hir for to go  
to deceyve Eve / and thus was mannes helthe<sup>2</sup>  
beraft<sup>3</sup> him by the fende / ryght<sup>3</sup> in a stelthe, 362 But it was the  
Devil who did  
this.  
the woman<sup>4</sup> nought knowyng<sup>4</sup> / of the<sup>5</sup> deceyt:  
gode wote, ful<sup>6</sup> fer was yt / from<sup>6</sup> hir conceyt. 364

[53]

Wherfore I sey<sup>7</sup> this / good[e] woman Eve, 365 Eve didn't  
deceive Adam.  
our fader Adam / ne deceyved nought.  
ther may no man / for a deceyt yt preve  
propely, but yf that she / in hir thoght<sup>8</sup>  
had it compassed<sup>8</sup> first / <sup>9</sup>er yt was<sup>9</sup> wrought<sup>8</sup>; 369  
and for swich was nat hir<sup>10</sup> / impressyon,<sup>11</sup>  
Men<sup>12</sup> calle / yt may,<sup>12</sup> no deceyt<sup>13</sup> by reson. 371

[54]

No<sup>14</sup> wyght deceyveth / but he yt<sup>15</sup> purpose ; 372  
the fende<sup>16</sup> this deceyt cast / and nothing<sup>16</sup> she ; The Devil did.  
than ys yt wronge / to demen or suppose  
that she sholde of this<sup>17</sup> harme / the cause be.  
witeth the fende / and his<sup>18</sup> be the<sup>18</sup> Mawgre, 376 Blame him.  
and for excused / haue<sup>19</sup> hir Innocence,  
sauf onoly that she / breeke<sup>20</sup> obedyence. 378

[55]

And touching that<sup>21</sup> / ful fewe men ther ben— 379 Nearly every man  
daily  
Vnnethes<sup>22</sup> any / dar I sauffy seye—  
fro day to day / as<sup>23</sup> that men now<sup>23</sup> wel seen,  
but that<sup>24</sup> the hest / of god they dysobeye : disobeys God.  
haue this in mynde / sires,<sup>25</sup> I yow preyre ; 383

<sup>1</sup> harte Sp., hert F D. <sup>2</sup> wealth Sp. <sup>3-3</sup> S om. him *and reads* and ry<sup>t</sup>: right even) D, by the fende Sp. <sup>4-4</sup> kn. no<sup>t</sup> S. <sup>5</sup> that Sp. <sup>6-6</sup> fer It was from S. <sup>7</sup> S inserts that. <sup>8</sup> purposit S. <sup>9-9</sup> or she it Sp. <sup>10</sup> hir D, hit F. <sup>11</sup> entencioun S. <sup>12-12</sup> may call it D, may it call Sp. <sup>13</sup> disceipt of<sup>r</sup> her Sp. <sup>14</sup> Ne no Sp. <sup>15</sup> om. Sp. <sup>16-16</sup> yis desaitte . . . nat S. <sup>17</sup> his D, That of his harme she should Sp. <sup>18-18</sup> his S. <sup>19</sup> hald S. <sup>20</sup> brake D Sp. <sup>21</sup> this Sp. <sup>22</sup> Vnnethe. <sup>23-23</sup> men mowe D, as men may all day see Sp., mow T. <sup>24</sup> om. D. <sup>25</sup> Seris D.



yf that ye be discreet / and resonable,  
 1ye wol hir hold[en] / the<sup>1</sup> more excusable. 385

[56]

And when men say women are unstable,  
 And where<sup>2</sup> men seyn / in man) ys stedfastnesse, 386  
 and woman) ys / of hir corage vnstable,

I ask 'Wasn't Adam changeable?'

Who may of Adam / bere swiche<sup>3</sup> witesse ?  
 telleth me this / was he nat chaungeable ?  
 they <sup>4</sup>bothe weren / in a caas semblable ; <sup>4</sup> 390  
 sauf willyngly the feende / deceyued Eve,  
 and so dide she nat Adam / by your leue. 392

[57]

Yet God

took flesh of a Virgin,

Yet was this synne<sup>5</sup> / happy to man-kynde : 393  
 the feende deceyved was / for al his sleyght ;  
 for aught<sup>6</sup> he coude him / in his sleythes wynde,  
<sup>7</sup>god, to discharge<sup>7</sup> mankynde / of the weight<sup>8</sup>  
 of<sup>9</sup> his trespass, cam<sup>10</sup> doun / from the<sup>11</sup> hevenes height,  
 and flesh and blood / <sup>12</sup>he tooke of A<sup>12</sup> virgyne,  
 and suffred deth / him<sup>13</sup> to delyuer of pyne ! 399

[58]

and if He'd known that woman was so bad as men say she is, He'd never have been born of her.

And god, to whom / ther may no thing hyd be, 400  
 yf he in woman knowe / had suche malyce  
 as men of hem recorde / in generalte ;  
 of<sup>14</sup> our lady, of lyfe / reparatrice,  
 Nolde han be born / but <sup>15</sup>for that<sup>15</sup> she of vice 404  
 Was woyde / and of al vertu (wel he wyste)  
 endowed<sup>16</sup> / of hir to be bore hym liste. 406

[59]

She is so full of virtues that no man can express them.

Hir heped<sup>17</sup> vertu / hath swich<sup>18</sup> excellence, 407  
 that al to leene<sup>19</sup> / ys mannes faculte  
 to declare yt / and ther-for in suspenge,

<sup>1-1</sup> 3e wold hold womeñ ye S, hir wolde D. <sup>2</sup> whan B. <sup>3</sup> suche D, soch a Sp,  
<sup>4-4</sup> both ware cause symiable S, o case Sp. <sup>5</sup> MS. fynne. <sup>6</sup> though S. <sup>7-7</sup> God  
 dischargit S. <sup>8</sup> plicht S. <sup>9</sup> for S. <sup>10</sup> come D. <sup>11</sup> om. S. <sup>12-12</sup> tuke of a cleyñ  
 S. <sup>13</sup> man D. <sup>14</sup> MS. yf. <sup>15-15</sup> om. D. <sup>16</sup> Endewed D. <sup>17</sup> happy D, hicht S.  
<sup>18</sup> such D. <sup>19</sup> low S.

hir duë preysing / put moot nedes be ;  
 but this I sey / [right] verraly, that she, 411  
 next god, <sup>1</sup>the best frend ys<sup>1</sup> / that to men longeth : Next God, she is  
 the key of mercye by<sup>2</sup> hir girdille hongeth. 413 man's best friend.

[60]

And of mercye / hath euery man swich<sup>3</sup> nede, 414  
 that, cessayng<sup>4</sup> that / farewel the Ioy of man!  
 of her power / now taketh<sup>5</sup> ryght<sup>6</sup> good hede !  
 she mercye may / wol,<sup>7</sup> and purchase kan ! Women can win  
 dysplese<sup>8</sup> hir nat<sup>9</sup> / honureth that woman, 418 men mercy.  
 and other women al[le]<sup>10</sup> / for hir sake !  
 and but ye do / your sorowe shal a-wake ! 420

[61]

Thou precieuse gemme / O martir<sup>11</sup> Margarete, 421 Witness the con-  
 of<sup>12</sup> thy blood / draddest noon effusion ! stancy of  
 thy martirdome / <sup>13</sup>ne may I nat<sup>13</sup> foryete !<sup>14</sup> St. Margaret  
 thou constant womman / in thy passyon the martyr.  
 ouercoom<sup>15</sup> the feendis / temptacion : 425  
 and many a wyght<sup>16</sup> / conuerted thy doctryne,  
<sup>17</sup>Vnto the feith of God / holy virgyne !<sup>17</sup> 427

[62]

But vnderstondeth / I commende hir noght 428 Her I praise,  
 by encheson / of hir virginite. not for her  
 trusteth ryght<sup>18</sup> wel<sup>19</sup> / it cam neuer in my thoght, virginity,  
 for euer werre y<sup>20</sup> / ayein<sup>21</sup> chastyte,  
 and ever <sup>22</sup>shal / but this, lo, meveth me,<sup>22</sup> 432  
 hir louyng hert / and constant to hir lay,  
 dryve oute of my rem[em]braunce / I ne may ! 434 but for her  
 constancy.

<sup>1-1</sup> is the best frende B. <sup>2</sup> at Sp. <sup>3</sup> suche D. <sup>4</sup> wanting S. <sup>5</sup> takith nowe  
 D. <sup>6</sup> here S. <sup>7</sup> wett D Sp. <sup>8</sup> Dispise S. <sup>9</sup> not D. <sup>10</sup> And all other women S.  
<sup>11</sup> of martirs Sp. <sup>12</sup> That of Sp. <sup>13-13</sup> may I not D. <sup>14</sup> Speght's line is: 'Thou  
 louer true, thou maiden mansuete.' <sup>15</sup> ouercame Sp. <sup>16</sup> man S. <sup>17-17</sup> From  
 Ashb. MS. god / holy D. Speght, / holy God thou, 1602, fol. 312, back, col. 2.  
 F B omit l. 441. <sup>18</sup> om. S. <sup>19</sup> om. S. <sup>20</sup> 'ryght wel' Sp. <sup>21</sup> werrey F, I werrey  
 D S T. <sup>22</sup> A yens D. <sup>22-22</sup> I shaft / but lo this mouyht D, (lo this) Sp, lo this  
 commend me S.

## [63]

Who can find	In any boke also / where can ye fynde, (that of the werkis / <sup>1</sup> or the <sup>1</sup> dethe or lyfe of Ihesu speketh / or maketh any mynde,)	435
that any womman forsook Christ ?	that wommen him forsook <sup>2</sup> / for woo or stryfe! wher was <sup>3</sup> ther any wyght / so ententyfe <sup>3</sup>	439
But all the Apostles did.	a-bouten <sup>4</sup> him / as women! pardee <sup>5</sup> noon! thapostels hym forsoken <sup>6</sup> / euerychon!	441

## [64]

	Womman) forsooke hym) nocht / for al the feyth of holy chirche / in womman left only : this is no lees / for thus <sup>7</sup> holy wryt seyeth. Lok ! and ye shal so fynde yt / hardely ; <sup>8</sup>	442
In woman, then, lies constancy ;	and therefore I may <sup>9</sup> preve / wel herby, <sup>9</sup> that in womman regneth / stable constance ;	446
in man, change.	and in men / ys the <sup>10</sup> chaunge and <sup>11</sup> variance !	448

## [65]

	Now holdeth this for ferme / and for no lye, that this <sup>12</sup> trew / and Iust <sup>12</sup> commendacion of women, tolde <sup>13</sup> / I nat <sup>14</sup> for flaterye, ne to cause hem <sup>15</sup> pride / or <sup>16</sup> elacion),	449
is to help them to persevere in virtue,	but only loo / for this entencion), to yeve hem corage / of perseueraunce	453
	In vertu / and <sup>17</sup> hir honure to enhance. <sup>18</sup>	455

## [66]

	The more vertu / the lasse is the pride. vertu so digne is / and so noble in kynde, that vice and [s]he <sup>19</sup> / wol not <sup>20</sup> in feere abide : [s]he putteth vyce <sup>21</sup> / clene out of hi[r] mynde, [s]he fleeth from him / [s]he leueth <sup>22</sup> him behynde !	456
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<sup>1-3</sup> othir S. <sup>2</sup> hym) forsok D, him forsook Sp. F. <sup>2-3</sup> any so Inly ententyfe S. <sup>4</sup> About D. <sup>5</sup> proued Sp., for pardee. <sup>6</sup> The Apostelis forsok hym D, him forsoken Sp., forsoken hym F B. <sup>7</sup> om. S. <sup>8</sup> redely S. <sup>9-9</sup> preve well therby D, wel preve herby F B, therby Sp. <sup>10</sup> om. D. <sup>11</sup> of Sp. <sup>12-12</sup> Iust and trew S. <sup>13</sup> writt S. <sup>14</sup> not D, tel I for no Sp. <sup>15</sup> Ne bicause of Sp. <sup>16</sup> nor S. <sup>17</sup> om. D. <sup>18</sup> auance Sp. <sup>19</sup> sche S. <sup>20</sup> om. S. <sup>21</sup> om. S, reads clere, hir. <sup>22</sup> put S.

O womman / that of wertu art hostesse,<sup>1</sup>  
gret ys thyn honor / and thy worthynesse ! 462

of which, woman  
is the hostess.

[67]

Thau wol we thus / concluden and dyffyne : 463  
we yow comaunde / oure Ministres echon,  
that redy <sup>2</sup>been / to oure hestes<sup>2</sup> enclyne,  
that, of these false<sup>3</sup> men / our reble<sup>4</sup> foon,  
ye do punyshement<sup>5</sup> / and that anon ! 467  
voide <sup>6</sup>hem our<sup>6</sup> court / and banyssh hem<sup>7</sup> for euer,  
so that <sup>8</sup>ther-in / they ne come more<sup>8</sup> neuer. 469

Then, my  
servants,

turn these false  
rebels of men out  
of my Court!

[68]

fulfilled be <sup>9</sup>yt / cessayng al delay !<sup>9</sup> 470  
look [that]<sup>10</sup> ther be noon / excusacion)  
<sup>11</sup>writen in the ayer / the lusty<sup>11</sup> moneth of May,  
In oure paleys / where many A Milion)  
of louers trwe / han habitacion), 474  
the yere of grace / Ioyful and Iocunde  
A thousand and <sup>12</sup>four houndred / and <sup>13</sup>secunde. 476

Written in May,

1402.

¶ Explicit *littera Cupidinis* <sup>14</sup>dei amatoris  
*directa suis subditis.*<sup>14</sup>

(In a late hand, Stowe's ?) T. hocleve.

<sup>1</sup> hostresse Sp., Hostes S. <sup>2-3</sup> ye be oure hestes to Sp.  
<sup>3</sup> false Sp., om. F D. <sup>4</sup> rebell Sp. <sup>5</sup> punicioun S. <sup>6-6</sup> thame  
3our S. <sup>7</sup> thame S. <sup>8-8</sup> here after therin they come D, therein  
more come they Sp. <sup>9-9</sup> this precept without D S. <sup>10</sup> S in-  
serts that. <sup>11-11</sup> Wretyn in the lusty D Sp. (Read 'th' ayer'  
as one syllable.) <sup>12</sup> om. D Sp. S. <sup>13</sup> the D. <sup>14-14</sup> Explicit etc  
S. *directa subditis suis amatoribus* D T, the lettre of Cupide  
god of lous directed to his suggestys louers, B. [At end of  
line, and of other poems, 'Lyty'; † the rubricator, B.]

## XIX. THE LETTER OF CUPID TO LOVERS, HIS SUBJECTS.

The title of the poem in Stowe's edition of 1561, Fol. cccxxvi, back, and in Speght's edition of 1602, is :

"The Letter of Cupide. This letter was made by Thomas Occleue of the office of the priuy Seale, Chaucers scholler ; and was by him termed, A Treatise of the conuersation of men and women in the little Island of Albion : which gate him such hatred among the gentlewomen of the Court, that he was enforced to recant in that booke of his, called *Planctus proprius*."<sup>1</sup>—Speght 1602, Fol. 310, back, col. 1, at foot.

<sup>1</sup> The *Complaint* that follows here, from the Durham MS.

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The Fairfax MS has the stanzas of the *Letter of Cupid* in the following wrong order: 1-6, 17-26, 7-9, 30-36, 47-9, 10-16, 37-9, 50-9, 40-6, 27-9, 60, 61-2, 63-4, 65-8. In the text above, the stanzas are set in the right order of Hoccleve's autograph Ashburnham MS, which was got only at the last moment, years after the Fairfax MS had been printed, and collated with a lot of other poor MSS, and when I had no hope of getting access to the Ashburnham MS.

Speght has the order of stanzas right to no. 60, but then puts 63, 64 before 61, 62. Nos. 65-8 he has right.

A partial collation of the Ashburnham MS, as well as of Shirley's MS at Trinity Coll. Cambridge, is given in the Notes below, with extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre de Cupide*, from which Hoccleve adapted his poem. Mr. Gollancz will print the Ashburnham MS as Part II of Hoccleve's *Minor Poems* for the Early English Text Society.

II. HOCLEVE'S COMPLAINT, &c.

DURHAM MS.

Collated in part with MS. *Arch. Seld. Supra* 53 (Bodleian Library).

*Durham MS. III. 9.*

After the two fly-leaves, the first 10 paper leaves of the poem—all the *Complaint*, and the beginning of the *Dialog*—are in the handwriting of John Stowe, the Chronicler.

Collation of vellum sheets: *a* and *b* in eights missing; *c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m*, in eights; *n* 1—3.





I lay awake  
thinking.      syghenge sore / as I in my bed lay,  
for this and othar thoughts<sup>1</sup> / whiche many a day 19  
before<sup>2</sup> I toke / sleape cam none in myne eye,  
so vexyd me / the thoughtfull maladye. 21

## (4)

Since my last  
sillnes,      I see well, sythen<sup>3</sup> I with sycknes last 22  
was scourged / clowdy hath bene the favoure  
that shone [on]<sup>4</sup> me / full bright in tymes past ;  
the sonne abatid / and the derke showre  
hildyd downe right on me / and in langour 26  
I didn't want to  
live ;      he<sup>5</sup> made [me] swyme / so that my wite<sup>6</sup>  
to lyve / no lust hadd, ne [no]<sup>7</sup> delyte. 28

## (5)

I grievd so      The grefe abowte / my<sup>8</sup> harte so<sup>9</sup> [sore] swal 29  
and bolned evar / to and to so sore,  
that I was forst      that nedes / oute I must[e] there-with-all ;  
I thowght I nolde it kepe<sup>10</sup> cloos no more,  
ne lett it in me / for to olde<sup>11</sup> and hore ; 33  
and for to preve<sup>12</sup> / I cam of a woman,  
to speak out.      I brast oute on the morowe / and thus began. 35  
here endythe my prologe . and folowythe my  
complaynt.

## [The Complaint.]

## (6)

[leaf 3, back] A ll myghty god / as lykethe his goodnes, 36  
visytethe folks<sup>13</sup> alday / as men may se,  
with lose of good / and bodily sikenesse,  
and amonge othar / he forgat not me ;  
God made me      witnes vppon the wyld infirmytie 40  
mad.      which that I had / as many a man well knewe,  
and whiche me owt of my selfe<sup>14</sup> / cast and threw. 42

<sup>1</sup> opir pouztis    <sup>2</sup> Byforne    <sup>3</sup> I sy wel sithin    <sup>4</sup> shoon on  
<sup>5</sup> Me    <sup>6</sup> spirite (for wite)    <sup>7</sup> ne no [no added above the line]  
<sup>8</sup> myn    <sup>9</sup> so sore [sore added above the line]    <sup>10</sup> nolde / kepe it  
<sup>11</sup> eelde    <sup>12</sup> preue : pryve St.    <sup>13</sup> vesiteþ folke    <sup>14</sup> silfe

(7)

It was so knowen to the people / and kouthē,	43	Every one knew it.
that counsell was it none / ne none be myght[e];		
how it with me stode / was in every mans <sup>1</sup> mowthe,		
and that full sore / my fryndes <sup>2</sup> affright[e];		My friends went pilgrimages for me.
they for myne helthe / pilgrimages hight[e],	47	
and sowght them <sup>3</sup> / some on hors and some on foote,—		
god yelde it them <sup>3</sup> /— to get[en] me [my] bote. <sup>4</sup>	49	

(8)

but althowghe the substaunce / of my memory	50	I lost my memory,
went[e] to pley / as for a certayne space,		
yet the lorde of vertew / the kyng of glory,		
of his highe myght / and <sup>5</sup> [his] benynge grace,		
made it to returne / in-to the place	54	but it came back on Nov. 1,
when[ne]s it cam / whiche <sup>6</sup> at all hallwe messe,		
was five yeere / neyther more ne lesse.	56	5 years ago,

(9)

And evere <sup>7</sup> sythen /—thanked be god owr lord,	57	
of his good <sup>8</sup> reconsiliacion,—		
my wyt and I / have bene of suche accorde		and has remaind.
as we were / or the alteracion		
of it was / but by my savacion,	61	
[Sith] that <sup>9</sup> tyme have I be / sore sett on fire,		
and lyved in great torment / and martire;	63	

(10)

for thowgh that my wit / were home <sup>10</sup> come agayne,		
men wolde it not <sup>11</sup> so vnderstond or take;	65	
with me to dealē / hadden they dysdayne;		
a ryotows person I was / and forsake;		
myn olde ffrindshipe / was all ovarshake;	68	But my old friends have cut me.
no wyte <sup>12</sup> withe me lyst make daliance;		
the worlde me made a straunge continance,	70	

<sup>1</sup> mannes : mans St.    <sup>2</sup> frendis : frynds St.    <sup>3</sup> hem  
<sup>4</sup> me my boote    <sup>5</sup> and his    <sup>6</sup> was St. om. was    <sup>7</sup> every St.  
<sup>8</sup> good and gracious St.    <sup>9</sup> Sith pat    <sup>10</sup> hoorn  
<sup>11</sup> not : no St.    <sup>12</sup> wjt

## (11)

[leaf 4]           whiche<sup>1</sup> that myne herte / sore gan<sup>2</sup> torment[e];   71  
 In Westminster   for ofte whan I / in westmynster hall[e],  
 Hall and London   and eke in london / amonge the prese<sup>3</sup> went[e],  
                       I se<sup>4</sup> the chere / abaten and apalle  
                       of them<sup>5</sup> that weren wonte me for to calle           75  
 they turnd their   to companye / her heed they caste a-wry[e],  
 heads from me.   when I them mette / as they not me sye.           77

## (12)

                      As seide is in the sauter / might I say,           78  
                       they that me sye / fledden a-wey fro me ;  
 I was forgotten.   forgeten I was / all owte of mynde a-way,  
                       as he that dede was / from hertes cherte ;  
                       to a loste vessell / lickened myght I be ;           82  
                       for many a wyght / abowte me dwellynge,  
                       herd I me blame / and putte in dispreisinge.   84

## (13)

                      Thus spake many one<sup>6</sup> / and seyde by me :           85  
 Folk said I should   ' all-thowghe from hym / his siknesse savage  
 go mad again.       with-drawne and passyd / as for a tyme be,  
                       Resorte it wole / namely in suche age  
                       as he is of' / and thanne my visage           89  
                       bygan to glowe / for the woo and fere ;  
                       Tho wordis, them vnwar / cam to myn ere.           91

## (14)

                      ' whane passinge hete is,' quod they, ' trustyth this, 92  
                       assaile hym wole<sup>7</sup> agayne that maladie ;'  
                       and yet parde / they token them amise ;  
 Yet I havn't gone   none<sup>8</sup> effect at all / toke there<sup>9</sup> prophecie ;  
 so.                   manie someres ben past / sithen remedye           96  
                       <sup>10</sup>of that, god of his grace me purveide :  
                       <sup>10</sup>thanked be god / it shope nought<sup>11</sup> as they seide. 98

<sup>1</sup> with   <sup>2</sup> gan to St.   <sup>3</sup> prees   <sup>4</sup> sy   <sup>5</sup> hem   <sup>6</sup> oone  
<sup>7</sup> him wole : wole hym St.   <sup>8</sup> Noon   <sup>9</sup> her  
<sup>10-10</sup> these lines as in Seld. : transposed by St.   <sup>11</sup> shoop not'

XX. HOOCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. THEY SAID MY BRAIN WAS TOUCHT. 99

(15)

what fall[e] shall / what men so <sup>1</sup> deme or gesse,	99	
to hym that wott <sup>2</sup> [well] every mans <sup>3</sup> secre,		
reservyd is / it is a lew[e]dnesse,		
men wyser them pretende / then they be ;		Men shouldn't pretend to know
and no wight knoweth / be it he or she,	103	what'll happen.
whom, how ne whan / god wole hym visete ;		
It happethe ofte <sup>4</sup> / whan men wene it lite.	105	

(16)

Some tyme I wend / as lite as any man,	106	[leaf 4, back]
for to have fall / in-to that wildenesse		
but god, whan [that] hym list / may, wole and can,		God sends sick-
helthe with-drawe / and send a wyght sycknesse ;		ness or health
Thowghe man be well this day / no syknesse	110	
to hym bihight is / that it shall endure ;		
god hurte now can / and nowe hele and cure.	112	as He likes.

(17)

he suffrith longe / [but] at <sup>5</sup> the laste he smit ;	113	
whane that a man is / in prosperite,		
To drede a fall comynge / it is a wit ;		
who so that takethe hede / ofte may se		
This worldis change / and mütabilite	117	
In sondry wyse / howe nedeth not expresse :		
To my mater / streit wole I me dresse.	119	

(18)

Men seyden, I loked / as a wilde steer,	120	Men said I lookt wild,
and so my loke abowt I gan to throwe ;		
myne heed to hie / a-nother seide I beer,		
ful bukkyshe is his brayne / well may I trowe ;		that my brain was bukkish,
and seyde the thirde <sup>6</sup> / and apt is in the rowe	124	
to site of them / that a resounles reed		
Can geve <sup>7</sup> / no sadnesse is in his heed.	126	

<sup>1</sup> † whatso men    <sup>2</sup> woot    <sup>3</sup> hertis    <sup>4</sup> often  
<sup>5</sup> but at    <sup>6</sup> thridde    <sup>7</sup> Can he zeue

## (19)

- Chaungid had I my<sup>1</sup> pas / some seiden eke, 127  
 for here and there / forthe stirte I as a Roo,  
 none abode<sup>2</sup> / none arrest, but all brain-seke.  
 A-nother spake / and of me seide also,  
 and my feet and eyes never still. my feete weren aye / wavyng to and fro 131  
 whane that I stonde shulde / and withe men talke,  
 and that myne eyne<sup>3</sup> / sowghten every halke. 133

## (20)

- I leide an ere aye to / as I by<sup>4</sup> wente, 134  
 and herde all / and thus in myne herte I cast :  
 of longe abydyng here / I may repent[e];<sup>5</sup>  
 leste, of hastynesse / I at the last[e]  
 I'd better go away; answere a-myse / best is hens hye fast[e]; 138  
 for yf I in this preace / a-mysse me gye,  
 to harme will<sup>6</sup> it me turne / and to folly[e]. 140

## (21)

- [leaf 5] And this I demyd well / and knew well eke, 141  
 what-so-evar I shuld answere or sey,  
 they wold[en]<sup>7</sup> not have<sup>8</sup> holde it worthe a leke ;  
 for why / as I hadd lost my tonges key,  
 Kepte I me cloos / and trussyd me my wey, 145  
 drowpyng and hevye / and all woo bystad ;  
 but I was very sad. small cawse had I / me thowght[e], to be glade. 147

## (22)

- Men's talk of me made me go cold and hot. My sprites / laboryd [euere] bysyly<sup>9</sup> 148  
 to peinte countinaunce<sup>10</sup> / chere and loke,  
 for that men spake of me / so wonderingly,  
 and for the very shame / and fere I qwoke;<sup>11</sup>  
 thowghe myne herte had be / dypped in y<sup>e</sup> broke, 152  
 It wete and moyste I-now was of my swot,  
 whiche was nowe frostye colde / now firy hoot. 154

<sup>1</sup> me    <sup>2</sup> Noon abood    <sup>3</sup> yen    <sup>4</sup> by: be St.  
<sup>5</sup> may me repent    <sup>6</sup> wole    <sup>7</sup> wolden    <sup>8</sup> han  
<sup>9</sup> labouriden / euere ful bisily    <sup>10</sup> countanawnce    <sup>11</sup> wook

(23)

And in my chamber at home when I <sup>1</sup> was	155	At home I lookt in the glass,
my selfe alone <sup>2</sup> / I in this wyse wrowght :		
I streite vnto my myrrowr / and my glas,		
to loke how that me / of my chere thowght[e],		
yf any [other] were <sup>3</sup> it / than it owght[e] ;	159	
for fayne wolde I / yf it had not <sup>4</sup> be right,		
amendyd it / to my kūnyng and myght.	161	

(24)

Many a sawte made I to this myrrowre,	162	
thinkynge, " yf that I loke in this manere		and thought I was all right,
amonge folke / as I now do, <sup>5</sup> none errowr		
of suspecte loke / may in my face appere,		
this countenance, I am svre, <sup>6</sup> and this chere,	166	
If I forthe vse / is no thinge reprevable		
to them that have / conseytes resonable."	168	

(25)

And there-with-all / I thowght[e] thus anon :	169	
" men in theyr <sup>7</sup> owne case / bene blynd alday,		but perhaps couldn't see my real state.
as I haue hard say / many a day agon,		
and in that [same] plyght <sup>8</sup> / I stonde may ;		
how shall I doo / which is the best[e] way,	173	
my trowbled spirit / for to bringe at <sup>9</sup> rest[e] ?		
yf I wist howe / fayne wolde I do the best[e]."	175	

(26)

Sythen I recoveryd was / have I full ofte	176	[leaf 5, back]
Cawse had of angre / and ympacience,		
where I borne have it <sup>10</sup> / esely and softe,		
sufferynge wronge be done to me, and offence,		I've suffered wrong, and held my tongue.
and nowght <sup>11</sup> answeyrd ageyn / but kept sylence,	180	
lest that men of me / deme would, and seyne,		
' se how this man / is fallen in agayne.'	182	

<sup>1</sup> pat I    <sup>2</sup> aloone    <sup>3</sup> othir were    <sup>4</sup> not had bene  
<sup>5</sup> nowe do    <sup>6</sup> sure    <sup>7</sup> her    <sup>8</sup> same plite    <sup>9</sup> in    <sup>10</sup> it  
<sup>11</sup> not

## (27)

Coming from Westminster,	As that I ones <sup>1</sup> / fro westmynstar cam,	183
	vexid full greuously / withe thougthfull hete,	
I thought I was a fool to show myself;	thus thougth I / "a great fole I am, this pavyment / a dayes thus to bete,	
	and in and out / labour[e] fast and swete,	187
	wonderinge / and hevynes to purchace,	
	sythen I stand <sup>2</sup> out / of all favour and grace."	189

## (28)

	And then thougth I / on that othar syde :	190
and yet if I kept in, I should be held worse.	"If that I not be sene / amonge the prees, men deme wele <sup>3</sup> / that I myne heade hyde, and am werse than I am / it is no lees."	
	O lorde, so my spirite / was rest[e]les,	194
	I sowght[e] reste / and I not it found,	
	but aye was trouble / redy at myn hond.	196

## (29)

I can't stop folks' fancies;	I may not lett a man / to ymagine	197
	ferre above the mone / yf that hym lyst ;	
	there-by the sowthe / he may not determyn[e],	
	but by the prefe / bene thing[e]s knowne <sup>4</sup> & wiste ;	
	many a dome / is wrappyd in the myst ;	201
	man by his dedes / and not by his lokes,	
	shall knowne be / as it is written in bokes.	203

## (30)

	by taste of frewte / men may well wete and knowe	204
	what that it is / othar prefe is there none ;	
	every man wott well that / as that I trowe,	
and some deem me mad still.	right so they / that demen my witt is gone, as yet <sup>5</sup> this day / there demythe many a one <sup>6</sup>	208
	I am not well / may, as I by them goo,	
	taste and assay / yf it be so or noo.	210

<sup>1</sup> oones      <sup>2</sup> stone      <sup>3</sup> wole      <sup>4</sup> knowen      <sup>5</sup> zit<sup>6</sup> many oon

(31)

Vpon a looke / is harde, men them to grownde	211	[leaf 6]
what a man is / there-by the sothe is hid ;		A man's wits oughtn't to be judgd by his looks.
whither his wittes / seke bene or sounde,		
by cowntynaunce / it is not wist ne kyd ;		
thowghe <sup>1</sup> a man harde / have ones bene bityde,	215	
God shilde it shuld / on hym contynue alway ;		
by comunyng / is the best assay.	217	

(32)

I mene to comon <sup>2</sup> of thing[e]s mene,	218	.
for I am but right lewde / dowl[e]les,		
and ygnoraunte / my cunnyng is full lene,		
yet homly reason / know I nevartheles ;		
not hope I founden be / so resonles	222	I'm not so witless as folk think.
as men demen / marie, christ forbede !		
I can no more / preve may the dede.	224	

(33)

If a man ones / fall in dronkenesse,	225	A man who gets drunk once
shall he contynewe / there-in evar mo ?		
nay, thowghe a man doo / in drinkynge excesse		
so ferforthe / that not speake he ne can, ne goo,		
and his wittes / welny ben refte hym froo,	229	
and buryed in the Cuppe / he aftarward		
Comythe to hym selfe agayne / ellis were it hard ;	231	becomes sober ;

(34)

Right so / thowghe my <sup>3</sup> witt / were a pilgrime,	232	and tho' I went out of my mind,
and went[e] fer fro home / he cam agayne ;		
God me voydyd <sup>4</sup> / of this <sup>5</sup> grevous venyme		God cured me.
that had enfectyd / and wildyd my brayne.		
se how the curtese leche moste sovereyne,	236	
vnto the sycke / gevythe <sup>6</sup> medisyne		
in nede / and hym relevythe of his peyne. <sup>7</sup>	238	

<sup>1</sup> Thou;    <sup>2</sup> commone    <sup>3</sup> pat my    <sup>4</sup> deuoided  
<sup>5</sup> the    <sup>6</sup> zeueth    <sup>7</sup> greuous pine



## (35)

	Now let this passe / god wott, many a man	239
	semythe full wyse / by cowntenance and chere,	
	whiche, and he tastyd were what he can,	
	men myghten lickin hym / to a foolis pere ;	
Some men look foole,	and some man lokethe / in foltyshe maner[e]	243
	as to the outward dome / and Iudgement,	
and yet prove wise.	that at the prese / descrete is and prudent.	245

## (36)

[leaf 6, back]	but algates, howe so be / my countynauce,	246
Still, tho' I look sane,	debate is now none / bytwyxt me and my wit,	
	all-thowghe there were / a dysseveraunce	
	as for a tyme / betwyxt me and it ;	
	the greater harme is myne, that nevar yet <sup>1</sup>	250
a wise man never stood on my feet;	was I well lettered / prudent and discrete,	
	there nevar stode yet / wyse man on my fete.	252

## (37)

	The sothe is this / suche conceit as I had,	253
and small wit as I had,	and vndarstondynge / all were it but small,	
	byfore that my wytt[e]s / wearen vnsad,	
	(thanked be owr lorde Ihesu christ of all !)	
it's less now.	suche have I now / but blowe is ny ovar all	257
	the reverse / where-thorwghe is the mornynge	
	whiche cawsethe me / thus syghe <sup>2</sup> in complaynyng.	

## (38)

	sythen my good fortune / hathe changed his <sup>3</sup> chere,	
It's high time for me to die;	hye time is me / to crepe in-to my grave,	261
	to lyve Ioy[e]les / what do I here ?	
	I in myne herte / can no gladnes have ;	
	I may but small sey / but yf men deme I rave,	264
	sythen othar thinge the[n] <sup>4</sup> woo / may I none grype,	
	vnto my sepulture / ame I nowe ripe.	266

<sup>1</sup> ȝit    <sup>2</sup> syȝe    <sup>3</sup> hir    <sup>4</sup> þan

(39)

My well, adwe / farwell, my good fortune !	267	my good hap
out of yowr tables / me playned have ye ;		
sythen well ny eny wyght / for to comune		,
with me lothe is / farwell prosperitie !		has gone.
I am no lengar / of your lyverye ;	271	
ye have me put / out of yowr remembraunce ; <sup>1</sup>		
adewe, my good adventure / and good chaunce !	273	

(40)

And as swithe after / thus by-thowght I me :	274	
yf that I in this wyse / me despeyre,		But still,
It is purchase / of more advarsytye ;		
what nedethe it / my feble wit appeire ;		
sythe god hathe made / myne helthe home repayre	278	I am well again,
blessed be he / and what men deme or <sup>2</sup> speke,		thank God ;
suffre it, thinks I / and me not on me wreke.	280	

(41)

but some dele had I / reioysynge amonge,	281	[leaf 7]
and gladnese <sup>3</sup> also / in my spirite,		
that thowghe the people / toke them mis & wronge,		and tho' folk
me demynge / of my syck[e]nesse not quite,		don't think me so,
yet for they / compleyned / the hevy plite	285	they feel for me.
that they had sene me in / with tendernesse		
of hertes cherte / my grefe was the lesse.	287	

(42)

In them put I no defawlte but one ;	288	
that I was hole / they not ne deme kowlde,		They can't believe
and day by day / they se me by them gon		I'm well,
In heate and colde / and neythar still nor lowde		
knew they me do suspectly / a dirke clowde	292	
theyr <sup>4</sup> syght obscuryd / with-in <sup>5</sup> and with-out[e],		
and for all that / were they <sup>6</sup> in suche a dowt[e].	294	

<sup>1</sup> retenaunce    <sup>2</sup> and    <sup>3</sup> a gladnesse    <sup>4</sup> Hir  
<sup>5</sup> withynne    <sup>6</sup> ay

## (43)

	Axid have <sup>1</sup> they / full ofte sythe, and freined	295
tho' my fellow- clerks of the Privy-Seal have	of my fellow[e]s / of the prive seale, and preyed them to tell them / with <sup>2</sup> hert vnfeynyd, how it stode wyth me / whither yll <sup>3</sup> or well.	
told them I am.	and they the sothe / told them every dell,	295
	but they helden / ther word[e]s not but les ; they myghten as well / have holden ther pes.	301

## (44)

	This troubyl yfe / hathe all to longe enduryd,	302
	not have I wyst / how in my skynne to turne ; but now my selfe / to my selfe have ensured, for no suche wondrynge / aftar this to morne ; as longe as my lyfe / shall in me soiorne,	306
	of suche ymaginynge / I not ne reche ; lat them drem <sup>4</sup> as them <sup>5</sup> lyst / and speke & dreche.	

## (45)

The other day a booke of consol- ation by	This othar day / a lamentacion	309
	of a wofull man / in a boke I sye, to whome word[e]s / of consolacion	
Reason <sup>6</sup>	Reason gave <sup>7</sup> / spekyng effectually ; and well easyd / myn herte was ther-by ;	313
comforted me.	for when I had a while / in the boke red, with the speche of Reason / was I well fed.	315

## (46)

[leaf 7, back] Thomas <sup>6</sup> A mournful man complained of	The hevye man / wofull and angwysshows, compleyned in this wyse / and thus seyde he :	316
	' my lyfe is vnto me / full enconberows ; for whithar / or vn-to what place I flye, my wyckednesses / evar followe <sup>8</sup> me,	320
	as men may se / the shadow a body swe, and in no maner / I may them eschwe.	322

<sup>1</sup> Axide han    <sup>2</sup> wip    <sup>3</sup> yuel    <sup>4</sup> deem    <sup>5</sup> hem  
<sup>6</sup> added later in margin    <sup>7</sup> zaf    <sup>8</sup> folowen

XX. HOOCLEVE'S COMPLAINT. REASON COMFORTS THE MOURNER. 107

(47)

'vexation of spirite / and torment 323 vexation,  
 lake I right none / I have of them plente ;  
 wondarly byttar / is my taa[s]t<sup>1</sup> and sent ;  
 wo be the<sup>2</sup> tyme / of my natyvyte,  
 'vnhappy man / that evar shuld it<sup>3</sup> be ! 327  
 O deathe, thy strooke / a salve is of swetnes  
 to them that lyven / in suche wrechednes. 329

(48)

'Gretar plesaunce / were it me to dye, 330 and wist for  
 by many folde / than for to lyve soo ;  
 sorows so many / in me multiplie,  
 that my lyfe is / to me a wery<sup>4</sup> foo ;  
 comfortyd / may I not be of my woo ; 334  
 of my distrese / se none end I can,  
 no force how sone / I stinte to be a man.' 336

(49)

Than spake Reason / 'what menythe all this fare? 337 Reason<sup>5</sup>  
 thowghe welthe be not frindly to the yet, urged the Mourner  
 out of thyn herte / voyde wo and care !'  
 'by what skylle / how / and by what rede and wit,' Thomas<sup>5</sup>  
 seyd[e] this wofull man / 'myght I done it?' 341  
 'wrastle,' qwode Reason / 'a-gayne hevynesses Reason<sup>5</sup>  
 of the worlde / troubles, suffring and duresses. 343

(50)

'beholde how many a man / suffrethe desseas[e] 344 to look at other  
 as great as thow / and all a way greater ; folks' greater ill  
 and thowghe it them pinche / sharply and sese,  
 yet paciently / they it suffar and bere :  
 thynke here-on / and the lesse it shall the dere : 348  
 suche sufferaunce is / of mans gylt clensynge,  
 and them inablethe / to Ioye evarlastinge. 350

<sup>1</sup> laast      <sup>2</sup> be be      <sup>3</sup> I      <sup>4</sup> verre

<sup>5</sup> later, in the margin.

## (51)

[leaf 8]	' woo, hevynes / and tribulation,	351
Trouble is com- mon to all,	comon are <sup>1</sup> to men <sup>2</sup> all / & profitable.	
	thowghe grevows be / mann[e]s temptacion,	
	It sleythe man not / to them that ben sufferable,	
	and to whom god[de]s stroke / is acceptable,	355*
	purveyed Ioye is / for god woundythe tho	
	that he ordeyned hathe / to blysse to goo /	357

## (52)

	' Gold purgyd is / thou seyst, in the furneis,	358
	for the fyner and clenner / it shall be ;	
and should be borne	of thy disease / the weyght and the peis	
	bere lyghtly / for god, to prove the,	
	scorgyd the hathe / with sharpe adversitie ;	362
	not gruche and sey / " why susteyn I this ? "	
	for yf thou do / thow the takest amis ;	364

## (53)

	' but thus thow shuldest / thinke in thyn herte,	365
as a punishment for sin.	and sey, " to the, lorde god / I have a-gylte	
	so sore : I moot / for myn offensis smerte	
	as I am worthy / O lorde, I am spilt,	
	but thow to me / thy <sup>3</sup> mercy graunt[e] wilt.	369
	I am full swre / thow maist it not denye ;	
	lord, I me repent / and I the mercy crye."'	371

## (54)

	lenger I thowght[e] / red haue in this boke,	372
	but so it shope / that I ne myght[e] nowght ; <sup>4</sup>	
	he that it owght / agayne it to <sup>5</sup> hym toke,	
I took Reason's teaching to heart,	me of his haste vnware / yet have I cawght	
	sume of the doctryne / by reason tawght	376
	to the man / as a-bove have I sayde,	
	where-of <sup>6</sup> I hold[e] me / full well apayde.	378

<sup>1</sup> aren    <sup>2</sup> me    <sup>3</sup> pi ; the St.    <sup>4</sup> nauzt    <sup>5</sup> to to, Dm.

<sup>6</sup> Welperof.

(55)

for evar sythen / set haue I the lesse	379	and have since put up with folks' talk of my illness.
by the peoples / ymagination,		
talkynge this and that / of my sycknesse,		
,whiche came of god[de]s visytacion ;		
myght I have be found / in probation,	383	
not grutchynge / but have take it in soffraunce,		
holsome and wyse / had be my governaunce.	385	

(56)

farwell my sorow / I caste it to the cok.	386	[leaf 8, back]
with pacience / I hens-forthe thinke vnpike		I'll unpick the lock of my woes,
of suche thowghtfull dissease and woo / the lok,		
and let them out / that have me made to sike ;		let them out,
here-aftar owr lorde god / may, yf hym lyke,	390	
make all myne olde affection resorte ;		
and in hope of that / woll I me comforte.	392	

(57)

Thrwghe <sup>1</sup> gods iust dome / and his iudgement,	393	
and for my best[e] / now I take and deme,		and take my punishment for the best.
gave <sup>2</sup> that good lorde / me my punishement :		
in welthe I toke of hym / none hede or yeme,		
hym for to please / and hym honoure and queme,	397	
and he me gave a bone / on for to know[e],		God gave me a bone to gnaw.
me to correcte / and of hym to have awe.	399	

(58)

he gave me wit / and he toke it away	400	
when that he se <sup>3</sup> / that I it mys dyspent[e],		
and gave agayne / when it was to his pay,		
he grauntyd me / my giltes to repent[c],		
and hens-forwarde / to set myne entent[e],	404	I'll now try to please God and to amend.
vnto his deitie / to do plesaunce,		
and to amend / my synfull governaunce.	406	

<sup>1</sup> Thoru?

<sup>2</sup> 3af

<sup>3</sup> sy

2 1605 (C1422) Hoccl. Compl. (Dur. 4)

(59)

I thank Him	lawde and honore / and thanke vnto the be, lorde god / that salve art / to all hevynes! thanke of my welthe / and myne adversyte, thanke of myne elde / and of my sek[e]nese; and thanke be / to thyne Infinite goodnese	407    411
and appeal to His mercy.	for thy gyftes and benefices all[e], and vnto thy mercye and grace I call[e].	413

2 1605 (C1422) Hoccl. Dial. (Dur. XXI)

[Thomas Hoccleve (in Stowe's hand).]

Dialogue with a  
Friend.

[Dialogus cum Amico.] (later, in pencil)

(1)

[leaf 9] A friend knocks at my door.	A nd, endyd my 'complaynt' / in this manere, one knocked / at my chambre dore sore, and cryed a-lowde / 'howe, hoccleve! arte thow here?	1
--------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

open thy dore / me thinkethe [it] full yore sythen I the se / what, man, for god[de]s ore come out / for this quartar I not the sy, by owght I wot' / and out to hym cam I.	5  7
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------

(2)

I ask him in,	This man was my good frynde / of farn a-gon, that I speke of / and thus <sup>1</sup> he to me seyde: 'Thomas / as thow me lovest, tell a-non <sup>2</sup> what dydist thow / when I knocked and leyde so fast upon thy dore' / And I obeyde vnto his will / "come in," quod I, "and se." and so he dyd / he streyght went in with me.	8  12  14
---------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------

(3)

and read my 'Complaint' to him.	To my good frind / not thowght I to make it queinte, <sup>3</sup> ne my labowre / from hym to hyde or leyne; and right anon / I redd hym my 'complaynt'; and that done / thus he seyde, 'sen we twayne bene here / and no mo folke / for god[de]s peyne,	16  19
---------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------

<sup>1</sup> þus.

<sup>2</sup> anon

<sup>3</sup> quette

HOOOLEVE'S DIALOG. I INSIST ON PUBLISHING MY 'COMPLAINT.' 111

Thomas, soffar me speke / and be not wrothe,  
for the to offend[e] / were me full lothe. 21

(4)

'That I shall saye / shall be of good entent[e]: 22

hast thou made this complaynte / forthe to goo

amonge the people' / "ye, friend;" so I ment[e];

what ells<sup>1</sup> / 'Nay, Thomas, ware, do not soo!

yf thou be wyse / of that mattar hoo, 26

reherse thou it not / ne it a-wake;

kepe all that cloos / for thyn honours sake. 28

My friend advises  
me not to make  
my 'Complaint'  
public,

(5)

'how it stode with the / leyde is all a-slepe; 29

men haue forget it / it is owt of mynd;

that thou towche there-of / I not ne kepe;

let be; that rede I / for I can not finde

O man to speake of it / in as good a kynde 33

as thou hast stonde / amonge men or this day,

stondyst thou nowe' / "A, nay," quod I, "nay, nay! I refuse,

I refuse,

(6)

"Thowghe I be lewde / I not so fere-forthe dote; 36

I wott what men haue seyde / and seyne of me;

ther word[e]s have I not / as yet forgote;

but greate marvayle have I / of yow, that ye

no bet of my 'compleynte' / avysed be, 40

sythen, mafey / I not redd it vnto yow

so longe a-gone / for it was but right now. 42

[leaf 8, back]

(7)

"If ye toke hede / it makethe mention 43

that men of me speke / in myne audience

full hevely / of your entencion

I thanke you / for of benevolence,

wott I full well / procedith yowr sentence; 47

but certis, good frinde / that thinge that I here,

can I witness / and vnto it refere. 49

as men talk of my  
illness in my  
hearing,

<sup>1</sup> ellis



(8)

“ And where as that ye / me counseile and rede, 50  
 that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye  
 any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede,  
 I vnto that / annswere thus and saye :  
 and I'm not  
 ashamed of God's  
 punishment. of god[de]s stroke / how so it peyse or waye, 54  
 owght no man to thinke / reпреfе or shame ;  
 his chastisyngе / hurtithe no mans name. 56

(9)

“ An othar thinge / ther mevithe<sup>1</sup> me also ; 57  
 sythen my syck[e]nesse / sprad was so wyde  
 that men knew well / how it stode with me tho,  
 I also want men  
 to know that  
 Jesus has cured  
 me. so would I now / vpon that othar syde  
 wist were / how our lord Ihesu, which is gyde 61  
 to all relefe / and may all hertes cure,  
 relevyd hathe me / synfull creature. 63

(10)

“ had I be for an homysede yknowe, 64  
 or an extorcioner / or a robbowr,  
 or for a coin<sup>2</sup> clypper / as wyde y-blowe  
 as was my syckenese / or a werriowr  
 a-gayne the faythe / or a falce mayntaynowr 68  
 of cawsys / thowghe I had a-mendyd me,  
 them to have mynged / [would] have been nicete ; 70

(11)

[leaf 10] “ And why / for tho proceden of frailtie 71  
 of man hym selfe / he brewythe all[e] tho ;  
 for sythen god to man / gyven<sup>3</sup> hathe libertie,  
 a wilful evil-doer, which chese may / for to do well or no,  
 yf he myse-chese / he is his owne foo ; 75  
 and to reherse his gilt / whiche hym accusethe,  
 honor saythe nay / there he scilence excusithe. 77

<sup>1</sup> menep

<sup>2</sup> coin S. comon Dm.

<sup>3</sup> 3oue

(12)

"but this is / all a-nothar case sothelye :	78	
this was the stroke of god / he gave me this ;		but only a sufferer
and sythe he hathe / withe-drawe it curteisly,		from the stroke of
am I not holden [tell] it owt / O yes ;		God.
but yf god had this thanke / it wer amyse. <sup>1</sup>	82	
In feythe, frinde / [I thenke] make an open <sup>2</sup> shryfte,		
and hyd[e] not / what I had of his gyfte.	84	

(13)

"If that a leche / curyd had me so,—	85	If a doctor had
as they lacken all / that science and myght,—		curod me,
a name he shulde / have had for evar mo,		he'd have been
what cure he had done / to so seke a wight.		highly praised.
and yet my purs / he wolde have made full lyght ;	89	
but curteys Ihesu / of his grace pacient,		
axith not / but of gilte amendement.	91	

(14)

"The benefice of god / not hyd be shuld[e] :	92	Surely then I
sythen of myne hele / he gave me triacle,		shouldn't hide
It to confese / and thanke hym, am <sup>3</sup> I hold[e],		God's benefits to
for he in me hathe shewyd his myracle ;		me.
his vysytacion is a spectacle	96	
in whiche that I / beholde may and se,		
bet then I dyd / how great a lorde is he.	98	

(15)

"but, frind, amonge the vises that right now	99	Among present
reherسد I, one of them, dare I saye,		vices is that of
hathe hurt me sore / and I wot well ynow		
so hathe it mo / which is feble <sup>4</sup> moneye :		light coin.
many a man this day / but they gold wey[e],	103	
of men / not wole it take ne receyve,		
and yf it lake his peis / they woll <sup>5</sup> it weive.	105	

<sup>1</sup> MS. anyse    <sup>2</sup> make I thanke an open    <sup>3</sup> as Dm.

<sup>4</sup> feole St.    <sup>5</sup> wole

(16)

[leaf 10, back]	“how may it holde his peise / when it is waishe	106
	so that it lackethe <sup>1</sup> / somewhat in thiknese ?	
	the falce people / no thinge them abashe	
Folk clip coin,	to clyp it eke / in <sup>2</sup> brede and in rowndnese,	
	in that <sup>3</sup> it shulde be / alweye the lesse :	110
and hurt the poor.	the pore man / amonge all othar is	
	full sore anoyed / and grevyd in this.	112

(17)

	“If it be golde and hole / that men hym profre	113
	for his labowre / or his chaffar lent,	
	take it yf him lyst / and put it in his coffre,	
	for wasshinge or clyppynge / hold hym content	
	or leve / he got none othar payment ;	117
	it semythe but small / othar is there ;	
	trewthe is absent / but falshed is not fer.	119

(18)

The poor are injured by coins	“how shall the pore do / yf in his holde	120
	no more money / he ne have at all,	
	par cas / but a noble / or halfpeny of golde,	
thind & clipt.	and it so thin is / and so narowe and smale,	
	that men the eschaunge eschewen ovar all ?	124
	not will it goo / but moche <sup>4</sup> he there-one lese ;	
	he mote do so / he may none other chese.	126

(19)

I have been.	“I myselfe in this case / bene have, or this,	127
	wherefore I know it / a grete dell <sup>5</sup> the bett.	
Sweaters of coin should be hung.	he that in falsynge of coyne / gilty is,	
	hathe great wronge / that he nere <sup>6</sup> on a <sup>7</sup> gebet ;	
	It is pitie / that he there-from is let,	131
	sythen he there-to hathe / so great title and right :	
	Reigne Iustice / and preve on them thy myght !	133

<sup>1</sup> lacke    <sup>2</sup> it eke it in    <sup>3</sup> in than ; is that St.

<sup>4</sup> miche    <sup>5</sup> dele    <sup>6</sup> nere S.    <sup>7</sup> ye.

(20)

“ when I this wrote / many me dyd amyse ;	134	
they weyed gold / vnhad aucthoritie ;		
no statute [made] was <sup>1</sup> then / as [pat] now <sup>2</sup> is ;		
but sythen golde to wey / chargid now ben we,		
Reason axith / that it obeyed be ;	138	Now an Act of Parliament makes weighing of coins needful.
now tyme it is / unto weight[e]s vs draw[e],		
sythen that the parlyament / hathe made it a lawe.	140	

(21)

“ yet othar shrewes / done a worse gyn ;	141	[leaf 11]
and tho bene they / that the coyne countarfete,		
and they that with gold / coper, cloth and tyn,		
to make all seme gold / they swinke and swete		
In hell[e] for to purchase / them a sete :	145	Counterfeiters of coin make themselves a seat in Hell.
If thethar lede them / theyr <sup>3</sup> falce covetise,		
that purchas made was / in a foltyshe wyse.	147	

(22)

“ what cawsethe, trowe <sup>4</sup> ye / all this mischance ?	148	
what comforte gyven <sup>5</sup> is / to this vntwrthe ?		
In feythe, men seyne / it is the mayntyance		
of great[e] folke / whiche is great <sup>6</sup> harme & ruthe.		The evil is done by the maintenance of great folk,
god graunt here-aftar / that ther be no slowthe, <sup>7</sup>	152	
of this treason / punishement to do,		
ryght such as that is / partinent ther-to.	154	

(23)

“ they that consenten / to do that falshede,	155	
as well as the werkars / withe peyne egall		
punished <sup>8</sup> owght to be / as that I rede.		who ought to be punisht.
now, manyteynors / be ware now of a fall !		
I speke of no parson / in especial <sup>9</sup> ;	159	
In contries dyvers / is there many one		
of yow / and hathe bene <sup>10</sup> / many a day a-gon.	161	

<sup>1</sup> made was ; was Dm.    <sup>2</sup> pat nowe ; now St.    <sup>3</sup> her  
<sup>4</sup> trowen    <sup>5</sup> zouen    <sup>6</sup> a great    <sup>7</sup> slouþe ; showþe Dm.  
<sup>8</sup> punischid    <sup>9</sup> special    <sup>10</sup> be

## (24)

False-coining harms the king	“ Alas / that to owr Kyng[e]s preiudice, and harme to all / his lige people trew[e], Continue shall / this fowle and cursed vice of falsynge of coyne / not begone of new[e], whiche / and it forthe goo / many one shall it rew[e]. God and our Kynge / remedye all this grefe, and the people, for to the people / it is a foule mischeffe.	162    165  168
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## (25)

who call for ven- geance on the false moneyers.	“ by comon harme / is not small to set[te] ; that venom / ovar wyde and brod[e] spredethe : grete merit were it / suche thinge stope and let[te], as that the comon / in-to myscheffe ledythe. the voyce of the people / vengauce on yow gredithe, ye cursed men / ye false moneyours, and on yowre outeris / and yowr maynteynours!	169    172  175
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## (26)

[leaf 11, back] But I fear these cursed fellows won't be punisht.	“ O, this I drede alweye / this heviethe me many a sythe / that punishement none fall[e] shall / on this cursed meynye ; how trewe so bè / ther enditement, <sup>1</sup> owr lyge lorde / shall be so Innocent, that vnto hym / shall hyd be y <sup>e</sup> notice ; vnwasshen gold / shall wasshe <sup>2</sup> a-way that vice.	176    180  182
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## (27)

Tho' the King 'll be told who the false coiners are,  they'll trick him, and escape.	“ Enformed shalbe / his hie excellence by menes / whom that the lady moneye hath rowned with / and shewyd evidence In plate / that all wronge is that men seye of that false folke / my sowle dare I laye, tho mens <sup>3</sup> shullen have / no defectyve plate ; here receyte shall be / good and fyne algate.	183    187  189
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<sup>1</sup> enditement ; entandement St.      <sup>2</sup> waishe ; vanyahe St.<sup>3</sup> meenes

(28)

<p>"Nowe in good faythe / I drede there shall be  suche multitude / of that falce secte  with-in this two yere / or ellis thre,  but yf this stynkyngne errowr / be correcte,  that so myche <sup>1</sup> of this land / shall be infecte  there-with, that trewthe shall a-downe be throw[e],  and that cursed falshed / it <sup>2</sup> overgrow[e].</p>	<p>190     194  196</p>	<p>If this evil isn't corrected.  truth will be overthrown.</p>
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(29)

<p>"lo, frinde / nowe haue I myne entent vnreke  of my longe tale / displese yow nowght."  'nay, Thomas, nay / but late me to the speke :  when thy compleynt / was to the end ybrowght,  cam it owght in thy purpos / and thy thougth,  owght ell[e]s ther-with / to have made than that ?  "ye, certayne, frind" / 'O nowe, good Thomas, what ?'</p>	<p>197     201</p>	<p>My friend asks what else I mean to write.</p>
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(30)

<p>"frinde, that I shall you tell / as blyve, y-wys :  in latyn have I sene / a small tretis[e],  whiche 'lerne for to dye' / I-callyd is :  a bettar restreynte / know I none fro vice :  for whan that deathe / shall men <sup>3</sup> from hence <sup>4</sup> trice,  but he that lesson / lerned have or than,  war that / for <sup>5</sup> deathe comethe, wot ther no wyght whan.</p>	<p>204    207</p>	<p>[leaf 12]  I've seen a Latin treatise 'Learn to die.'</p>
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(31)

<p>"And that have I purposed to translate,  If god his grace / lyst ther-to me lene,  sythen he of helthe / hathe openyd me the gate ;  for where my sowle is / of vertwe all lene,  and thrwge my bodyes gilt / fowle <sup>6</sup> &amp; vnclene,  to clens it / some-what by translation  of it, shall be / myne occupation.</p>	<p>211    215  217</p>	<p>and I mean to english it.</p>
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<sup>1</sup> moche      <sup>2</sup> it ; is St.      <sup>3</sup> man      <sup>4</sup> hennes  
                 <sup>5</sup> for ; and St.      <sup>6</sup> & fowle St.

## (32)

This treatise 'll make men take account of their sins,	“ for I not only / but, as that I hope,	218
	many an othar wight / eke there-by shall	
	his consyence / [ful] tenderly grope,	
	and withe hym selfe acompte, & reken of all	221
	that he hathe in his <sup>1</sup> lyfe / wrowght, great & <sup>2</sup> small,	
	while he tyme hathe / & freshe wit and vigowr,	
	and not abyde / vnto his dethes howr.	224

## (33)

and not delay till they are near death.	“ man may in this tretis / here-aftarward,	225
	yf that hym lyke / rede and beholde,	
	consyder and se well / that it is full hard	
	delay accompts / tyll lyfe begyne to colde;	
	short tyme is then / of his offencis olde	229
	to make a iust / and trew[e] rekenyng;	
	sharpnes of peyne / is there-to great hindringe.	231

## (34)

[leaf 12, back]	“ Not hath <sup>3</sup> me stiryd / my devocion	232
	to do this labour / ye shullan vnderstond[e],	
I do this transla- tion at the urging of a devout man,	but at the exitynge / and monicion	
	of a devout man / take I here on hond[e]	
	this labowr / and as I cane, <sup>4</sup> wole I fond[e]	236
	his reade, thwrghe gods grace, to parforme,	
	thowghe I be bare / of intellecte and forme.	238

## (35)

and when it's fynisht, I shall write no more.	“ And whan that endyd is / I never thinke,	239
	more in englyshe aftar / be occupied;	
	I may not labowr / as I dyd, and swinke;	
	my lust is not there-to / so well applied	
	as it hathe bene / it is ny mortyfied;	243
	wherefore I cesse thinke / be this done,	
	the night approchethe / it is fer past none.	245

<sup>1</sup> this      <sup>2</sup> or      <sup>3</sup> corr. from 'have I,' in St.<sup>4</sup> came

(36)

"Of age am I fifty winter and thre; 246 I am 53;  
 Ripenesse of dethe / fast vpon me hastethe;<sup>1</sup>  
 my lymes sundell / now vnweldy be;  
 all my syght apperithe faste, and wastithe,  
 and my conceyte / a dayes now / not tastethe 250 my sight is im-  
 as it hathe done / in yeres precedent; paired, and my  
 now all a-nother is my sentement.<sup>2</sup> [*Stowe ends.*] 252 mind too.

(37) [*Hoccleve's parchment begins.*] ? a 1430 (c 1422)

"More am I heuy now vp-on a day, 253 [*leaf 13*]  
 Than I sum tyme was in dayes fyue;  
 Thynges þat or this me thoghte game & play,  
 Is earnest now / <sup>3</sup>the hony fro the hyue  
 Of my spirit withdrawith wondir blyue; 257  
 Whan al is doon / al this worldes swetnesse  
 At ende torneth in-to bittirnesse.<sup>4</sup> 259

*Hoccl. Dial. (Dur. U)*  
The honey is gone from the hive of my spirit.

(38)

"The fool, thurgh loue of this lyf present, ¶ *fallitar insipiens vite presentis amore &c.*  
 Deceyued is / but the wys man woot weel  
 How ful this world of sorwe is, and torment; The world is full  
 Wherefore in it / he trustith nat a deel: of sorrow.  
 Thogh a man this day / sitte hye on the wheel, 264  
 To morwe he may be tryced from his sete;  
 This hath be seen often / among the grete. 266

(39)

"How fair thyng / or how precious it be 267 Fair things are  
 þat in the world is / it is lyk<sup>1</sup> a flour, like flowers,  
 To whom / nature yeuen hath beautee  
 Of fressh heewe / and of ful plesant colour;  
 With soote smellynge also, and odour; 271  
 But as soone as it is bicomen drye,  
 ffarwel colour / and the smel gynneth<sup>5</sup> dye. 273 and soon lose  
 their colour and  
 scent.

<sup>1</sup> now hastip      <sup>2</sup> sentement  
<sup>3</sup> A later hand (? Stowe's) has written 'then' over the line as if it were left out.  
<sup>4</sup> 'tornithe in to bittirnesse, is repeated below in a later hand.  
<sup>5</sup> A later hand writes 'be' gynneth 'to.' At foot: 'hongrie men seem diyures,' &c.



(40)

[leaf 13, back] Majesty passes like a tree's shadow.	“ Rial might and eerthely magestee, Welthe of the world / and longe & faire dayes, Passen / as dooth the shadwe of a tree ; Whan deeth is come / ther be no delays ; The worldes trust is brotil <sup>1</sup> at assayes ; The wyse men / wel knowen this is sooth, They knowen / what deceit to man it dooth.	274    278  280
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(41)

Property is lent us for a time;	“ Lond / rente / cattel / gold / honour / richesse, þat for a tyme lent been to been ouris, fforgo we shole / sonner than we gesse. Paleses / Maners / Castels grete & touris Shal vs bireft be / by deeth þat ful sour is ; Shee is the rogh besom / which shal vs aH Sweepe out of this world / whan god list it faH.	281    285  287
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but Death soon  
deprives us of it.

(42)

Isn't it wise to provide against Death ?	“ And syn þat shee shal of vs make an ende, Holsum is, hir' haue ofte in remembrance, Or shee hir messenger seeknesse vs sende. ¶ Now, my freend / so good yeue yow good chaunce, Is it nat good to make a puruance Ageyn the comynge of þat messageer, That we may stande in conscience cleer ?”	288    292  294
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(43)

[leaf 14] ‘ Yes, Thomas Hoccleve ; but your brain is weak.	¶ ‘ yis, Thomas, yis / thow hast a good entente, <sup>2</sup> But thy werk / hard is to parfourme, I dreede ; Thy brayn, par cas / ther-to nat wole assente, And wel thow woost / it moot assente neede Or thow aboute brynge swich a deede : Now in good feith / I rede as for the beste, þat purpos caste out of thy myndes cheste.	295    299  301
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<sup>1</sup> *bretil*, first.

<sup>2</sup> Iohan Medwell, *Master* my lord Chamberlain, . . per prise  
[at top]. Also, later, ‘ W. Browne.’ At foot, ‘ Thomas Carterys.’

(44)

'Thy bisy studie aboute swich mateere	302	'Your writing has made you crackt again.
Hath causid thee / to stirte in-to the plyt		
That thow were in / as fer as I can heere ;		
And thogh̄ thow deeme / thow be there-of qwyt /		
Abyde / and thy purpos putte in respyt	306	'Stop work till your brain's right.'
Til þat right wel stablisshid be thy brayn ;		
And ther-to thanne / I wole assente fayn.	308	

(45)

'Thogh̄ a strong fyr / þat was in an herth late,	309	
Withdrawen be / and swept away ful cleene /		
yit aftirward̄ / bothe the herth and̄ plate		
Been of the fyr warm / thogh̄ no fyr be seene		
There as þat it was / and right so I meene :	313	
Al-thogh̄ past be the grete of thy seeknesse /		
yit lurke in thee may sum of hir warmnesse.'	315	

(46)

¶ "O, what is yow, freend̄ / benedicitee ?	316	[leaf 14, back] Hocceve re- proaches his friend : I told you I was well.
Right now, whan I yow redde my 'conpleynte,'		
Made it nat mynde / it standith wel with me ?		
Myn herte with your speeche gynneth feynte.		
Shuld we be now / al neewe to aqweynte,	320	
þat han so wel aqweynted be ful yore ?		
What / han yee now lerned a neewe lore ?	322	

(47)

"Han yee lerned / your freend for to mis-truste	323	Why do you mistrust me ?
And to his wordes / yeue no credence ?		
If your frendshipe cancre so and ruste,		
Sore wole it trouble myn innocence,		
þat ay yow holden haue in existence	327	
A verray freend / certes, sore am I greued,		
That yee nat leue / how god me hath̄ releued. <sup>1</sup>	329	

<sup>1</sup> Later, in margin: 'Ryght worshipfull Fa.' At foot, 'Hereof se . . Thomas C.'

122 XXI. HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. FRIENDSHIP SHOULD LAST FOR EVER.

(48)

	“ Who so nat leueth / what þat a man seith,	330
	Is signe þat he trustith him but lyte.	
A true friend trusts his friend.	A verray freend yeueth credence & feith	
	Vn-to his freend / what so he speke & wryte.	
	ffrendshipes lawe / nat worth wer' a myte,	334
	If þat vntrust / vn-to it wer' annexid ;	
	Vntrust hath many a wight ful sore vexid.	336

(49)

[leaf 15]	“ I with my seluen made foreward,	337
	Whan with the knotte of frendshipe I me knytte	
I vowd to stick to you.	Vn-to yow, þat I neuere aftirward	
	Fro þat hy bond departe wolde, or flitte ;	
	Which keepe I wole ay / o, your wordes sitte	341
	Ny to myn herte / and thogh yee me nat loue,	
	My loue fro yow / shal ther no wight shoue.	343

(50)

Tully says that Friendship lasts for ever.	“ Tullius seith / þat frendshipe verray	344
	Endurith euere / how-so men it assaiþ ;	
	ffrendshipe is noon / to loue wel this day,	
	Or yeeres outhir / and aftirward faiþ.	
	A freend to freend / his peyne & his trauiþ	348
	Dooth ay / frendshipe to keepe & conserue	
	Til dethes strook' þat bond a-sondir kerue.	350

(51)

Solomon says so too.	“ To this matir' accordith Salomon—	351
	yee knowe it bet than I by many fold :	
	Ones freend / and holde euere ther vp-on.	
	In your frendshipe wer' a slipir hold,	
	If it abate wolde and wexe cold,	355
	þat vn-to now hath been bothe hoot & warm ;	
	To yow wer' it reproof / and to me harm.	357

Hoccl. Dial. (Dur. H)

(52)

" If þat me list in this mateere dwell, <sup>1</sup>	358	[leaf 15, back]
And it along / for to drawe and dilate,		
Auctoritees an heep, kowde I yow tell		
Of frendshipe / but stynte I moot algate,	362	But I'll stop talking,
Or elles wole it be ful longe & late		
Or I haue endid my purposid werk',		
ffor feeble is my conceit, & dul & derk'.	364	

(53)

" But as þat I seide eer / and sooth it is,	365	
My sclendre wit feele I as sad and stable		
As euere it was at any tyme or this :		tho' my mynd is as firm as ever it was.
Thankid be our lord Ihesu merciabile!"		
' ¶ Yit, Thomas, herkne a word, and be souffrable,	369	Hoccleve's friend, Thomas,
And take nat my speeche in displesance ;		
In me shalt thow fynde no variance.	371	you shall find no changing in me.

(54)

' I am thy freend / as þat I haue ay been,	372	I am your friend.
And euere wole / doute it nat al,		
But truste wel, it is but seelden seen		
þat any wight / þat cagh't hath swich a fal		
As thy seeknesse was / þat aftir shal	376	
Be of swich disposiciozn and might		
As he was erst / and so seith euery wight.	378	

(55)

' Of studie was engendred thy seeknesse, <sup>2</sup>	379	[leaf 16] Your illness came from overstudy.
And þat was hard / woldest [thow] now agayn		
Entre into þat laborious bisynesse,		
Syn it thy mynde and eek thy wit had slayn ?		
Thy conceit is nat worth a payndemayn :	383	
Let be / let be/ bisye thee so no more,		
Lest thee repente / and reewe it ouersore.	385	Don't be silly enough to do it again.

<sup>1</sup> Later, in margin : 'Is the same ene (?) . . . he me life in.'

<sup>2</sup> In a later hand at top : 'per me peter hardy of halyfax' ; then, rubd out, 'ows this bok.'

(56)

	' My reed proceedith nat of froward wil,	386
	But it is seid of verray freendly-hede	
	ffor if so-causid seeknesse on me fil	
	As dide on the: right euene as I thee rede,	
	So wolde I do my self / it is no drede ;	390
Solomon bids you do as you're advised.	And Salomon bit / aftir conseil do ;	
	And good is it / conforme thee ther-to.	392

(57)

	' He þat hath ones in swich plyt y-faþ,	393
	But he wol rule him / may in slippen eft :	
	This rede I thee / for aghþ þat may befaþ,	
As God has cured your sickness, avoid its cause.	Syn þat seeknesse god hath thee byrest,	
	The cause eschue / for it is good left,	397
	Namely, thyng of thoghtful studie kaght,	
	Perillous is / as þat hath me been taght.	399

(58)

[leaf 16, back]	¶ ' Right as a theef þat hath eschapid ones <sup>1</sup>	400
	The roop / no dreede hath eft his art to vse,	
	Til þat the trees him weye vp, body and bones,	
	So looth is him / his sory craft refuse /	
You love to pore on your books.	Sa farest thow / ioie hastow for to muse	404
	Vp-on thy book <sup>1</sup> / and ther-in stare & poure,	
	Til þat it thy wit / consume and deuoure.	406

(59)

	' I can no more / the latter' errour'	407
	Wers is, rede I / than þat þat was beforn ;	
	The smert of studie / oghte be mirour'	
Give up your studies.	To thee / let yit thy studie be forborn.	
	Haue of my wordes / no desdeyn or scorn ;	411
	ffor þat I seye / of freendly tendernesse	
	I seye it al / as wisly god me blesse.	413

<sup>1</sup> Written up the side in a later hand :  
Know er thow kynt [knyt, p. 152], and then thow mayst slake ;  
If thou knynt er thow know, then hytt ys to late. (See p. 152.)

Wood. Dial. (Dur. U)

(60)

'If thee nat list vp-on thy self to reewe, 414 If you won't take  
Thomas, who shal reewe vpon thee, I preye? ply on yourself,  
Now do foorth, let see / and thyn harm reewe; who will?  
And heuyer / shal it peise and weye  
Than it dide eer / ther-to my lyf I leye, 418  
Which thee wolde ouer mochil harme & greue.'  
"freend, as to þat / answer I shal by leue.<sup>1</sup> 420 *Hoccleve answers.*

(61)

"Where-as þat yee deemen of me, and trowe 421 [leaf 17]  
That y of studie my disese took',— My insanity  
Which conceit eek' / among the peple is sowe /—  
Trustith right wel / þat neuere studie in book' did not come from  
Was cause / why my mynde me forsook' 425 book-study,  
But it<sup>2</sup> was causid of my long seeknesse, but from my long  
And othir wyse nat / in soothfastnesse. 427 illness.

(62)

"And for-thy neuere aftir this / preye y yow, 428  
Deemeth no more so / ne nat it mynge.  
That men kneew I had seeknesse / is ynow, I don't care that  
Thogh they make of the cause no serchyng; folk should know  
Ther cometh but smal fruyt of swich deemyng. 432 about it.  
To yow told haue I treewely the cause;  
Now let vs stynten heer' / & make a pause. 434 Let's drop it.

(63)

"In this keepe I no replicacioun; 435  
It is nat worth / the labour is in veyn;  
Shal no stiryng or excitacioun  
Lette me of this labour, in certeyn.  
Trustith wel this pourpos is nat sodeyn; 439 As to my intended  
Vp-on my wittes stithie hath it be bete work,  
Many a day / of this no lenger trete.<sup>3</sup> 441 I've thought  
about it long,

<sup>1</sup> Later scribbles at foot: 'William . . thi . . nunny ny,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> MS. is.

<sup>3</sup> Later, at foot: 'Lord, Haue merce upon all cersten solles . . John taler . . sone frome the beg<sup>a</sup>,' &c.

(64)

[leaf 17, back]	“ I haue a tyme resonable abide Or that I thoghte in this laboure me ; And al to presue my self, I so dide : A man in his conceit / may serchee & see	442
for 5 years.	In .v°. yeer / what he do may, pardee, And aftir þat take vp-on him, and do Or leue / reson accordith heer-to.”	446 448

(65)

<p><i>Hoccleve's Friend.</i> Thomas, you're not wise to follow your own judgment instead of mine.</p>	¶ ‘ O Thomas, holdist thow it a prudence, Reed, weyue, and wirke aftir thyn owne wit ? Seide y nat eer / þat Salomons sentence To do by reed / and by Conseil, men bit ; And thow desdeynest / for to folwen it. What art thow now / presumptuous become, And list nat of thy mis / been vndirnome ?’	449 453 455
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(66)

<p><i>Hoccleve.</i> Vnus sit tibi consiliarius inter mille</p> <p>My friend, I feel you are wrong.</p>	¶ “ Nay, freend / nat so / yee woot well, elles-where Salomon bit / ‘ oon be thy Conseillour Among a .Mii.’ and if þat yee were As constant as yee han been or this hour, By yow wolde I be red / but swich errour In your conceit I feele now, sanz faille, That in this cas yee can nat wel consaiH. <sup>1</sup>	457 460 462
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(67)

<p>[leaf 18]</p> <p>I've told you plainly how I stand.</p>	“ ffor god woot / a blynd Counseillour is he Which þat counseille shal in a mateere, If of a soothe / him list nat lerned be ; And euene swich oon fynde I now nowhere. <sup>2</sup> I pleynly told yow haue, the maneere How þat it with me standen hath / and stant ; But of your trust to me ward, be ye scant.	463 467 469
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<sup>1</sup> In the begynnnyng god be my speade wythe grace & vertu [later, at bottom].      <sup>2</sup> MS. now heere.

Hoecle. Dial. (Dur. H)

(68)

“Han yee aght herd of me in *communynge*, 470  
Wherthurgh yee ogh<sup>t</sup>en deeme of me amis?  
Haue I nat seid reson / to your thynkygne?”  
¶ ‘ffor soothe, Thomas / to my conceit / yis ;  
But euere I am agast, & dreede this, 474  
Thy wit is nat so mighty to susteene  
That labour / as thow thy self woldest weene.’ 476

Haven't I spoken  
reason?  
*Hoccleve's friend.*

Yes; but your  
mind won't bear  
this new work.

(69)

“ffreend, as to þat, he lyueth nat þat can 477  
Knowe / how it standith with an othir wight,  
So wel as him self / al-thogh many a man  
Take on him more / than lyth in his might  
To knowe / þat man is nat ruled right 481  
þat so presumeth in his iugement :  
Beforn the doom / good wer' ausament.” 483

*Hoccleve.*  
Who can judge  
a man's state as  
well as he him-  
self?

(70)

¶ ‘Now, Thomas / by the feith I to god owe, 484  
Had I nat taastid thee / as þat I now  
Doon haue / it had been hard, maad me to trowe  
The good plyt / which I feele wel þat thow  
Art in / I woot wel thow art wel ynow, 488  
What-so men of thee ymagyne or clappe,  
Now haue I god, me thynkith, by the lappe. 490

*Hoccleve's friend.*  
[leaf 18, back]  
Well, Thomas,  
I've tasted you,  
and believe you  
are fit.

(71)

‘But al so hertly / as I can or may, 491  
Syn þat thow wilt to þat labour thee dresse,  
I preye thee / in al maneere way  
Thy wittes to conserue / in hir fresshnesse ;  
Whan thow ther-to goost / take of hem the lesse ; 495  
To muse longe / in an hard mateere,  
The wit of man abieth it ful deere.’ 497

And, as you *will*,  
write,

keep your wits  
fresh,

and don't work at  
too hard a subject.



(72)

<i>Hocleve.</i>	¶ "ffreend, I nat medle of matires grete;	498
My brains won't stretch to that.	Ther-to nat strecche may myn intellect;	
	I neuere yit was brent with studies hete;	
	Let no man holde me ther-in suspect:	
If I can't do my work easily, I shall shut my book.	If I lightly / nat cacche may theffect	502
	Of thyng' in which / laboure I me purpose,	
	A dieu my studie / anoon my book' I close.	504

(73)

[leaf 19] I shall write by starts, as the fancy takes me, and stop when it slacks.	" By stirtes / whan þat a fressh lust me takith,	505
	Wole I me bisye now and now a lyte;	
	But whan þat my lust dullith and asslakith,	
	I stynte wole / and no lenger' wryte;	
	And pardee, freend / þat may nat hyndre a myte,	509
	As þat it seemeth to my symple ays;	
	Iugeth your self' / yee been prudent and wys."	511

(74)

<i>Hocleve's friend.</i>	¶ 'Sikir, Thomas / if thow do in swich wyse	512
Then I'm content.	As þat thow seist / I am ful wel content	
	þat thow vp-on thee take þat emprise	
	Which þat thow has purposed and y-ment;	
	Vn-to þat ende / yeue y myn assent,	516
Set to work, in Christ's name.	Go now ther-to / in Ihesu Crystes name;	
	And as thow haast me seid / do thou þat same.	518

(75)

	' I am seur þat thy disposicioun	519
	Is swich / þat thow maist more take on hoonde	
	Than I first wende in myn oppinioun,	
	By many fold / thankid be goddes soonde!	
	Do forth in goddes name / & nat ne woonde	523
Compose and write what you like.	To make and wryte / what thyng þat thee list:	
	þat I nat eer kneew / now is to me wist.	525

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at top: 'Thomas . . Tomas Gairdynnaysr' (1).

(76)

'And of o thyng / now wel I me remembre,	526	[leaf 19, back]
Why thow purposist in this book trauaiH :		
I trowe þat in the monthe of Septembre		
Now last, or nat fer from / it is no faiH,—		
No force of the time <sup>1</sup> / it shal nat auaiH	530	
To my mateer' / ne it hyndre or lette,—		But didn't you say
Thow seidist / of a book' thow wer' in dette	532	that you owd a book

(77)

'Vn-to my lord / þat now is lieutenant,	533	to the Lord Lieu- tenant, the Duke of Gloster?
My lord of Gloucestre / is it nat so ?'		
¶ "Yis soothly, freend / and as by couenant		<i>Hocoleve.</i>
He sholde han had it many a day ago ;		Yes, and he ought to have had it
But seeknesse and vnlust / and othir mo	537	long ago.
Han be the causes of impediment."		
¶ 'Thomas / than this book' haast thow to him ment ?'		

(78)

¶ "Yee sikir, freend, ful treewe is your deemynge ;	540	
ffor him it is / þat I this book' shal make.		My new book is meant for him.
As blyue as þat I herde of his comyng		As soon as I heard of his coming
ffro ffrance / I penne and ynke gan to take,		¶ <i>scilicet</i> de
And my spirit I made to awake,	544	<i>secundo</i> reditu
þat longe lurkid hath in ydilnesse		suo de ffrancia
ffor any swich labour or bisynesse.	546	from France, I took pen and ink.

(79)

"But of sum othir thyng / fayn trete I wolde,	547	[leaf 20]
My noble lordes herte / with / to glade,		But I'd like to write something to gladden him with.
As ther-to bownden am I deepe, & holde ;		
On swich mateere / by god þat me made,		
Wolde I bestowe many a balade,	551	
Wiste I what / good freend / tell on what is best,		
Me for to make / and folwe it am I prest.	553	

<sup>1</sup> MS thine ; but this is surely a writing mistake.  
HOCOLEVE, M.P.—II.

(80)

Next to our King Henry V.,	“ Next our lord lige, our kyng victorious, In al this wyde world / lord is ther noon	554
no lord has been so good to me for years as the Duke.	Vn-to me so good ne so gracious, And haath been swich / yeeres ful many oon :	558
	God yilde it him / as sad as any stoon His herte set is / and nat change can ffor me, his humble seruant & his man.	560

(81)

I thought of englehing for him Vegetius on <i>Chivairy</i> ,	“ ffor him I thogh̄te han translated Vegece Which tretith of the art of Chiuarie, But I see his Knygh̄thode so encrece, þat no thyng my labour sholde edifie,	561
but he knows it all.	ffor he þat art / wel can for the maistrie. Beyonde, he preeued hath his worthynesse,	565
Cherbourg bears witnes to his valour.	And among othre / Chirburgh̄ to witnesse.	567

(82)

[leaf 20, back] He besieged it	“ This worthy Prynce lay before þat hold Which was ful strong / at seege many a day, And thens for to departe hath he nat wold, But knygh̄tly ther' abood / vp-on his pray	568
and won it.	Til he by force it wan / it is no nay. Duc henri, þat so worthy was and good, ffolwith this Prince / as wel in deede as blood.	572 574

(83)

And before, he won Constantine.	¶ “ Or he to Chirburgh̄ cam / in iourneyng <sup>1</sup> , Of Constantyn he wan the cloos and yle, ffor which / laude and honour and hy preysynge Rewarden him / and qwyten him his whyle. Thogh̄ he beforn þat had a worthy style, yit of noble renoun is þat encrees :	575 579
He is a famous Prince.	He is a famous Prince / doutelees !	581

<sup>1</sup> Chirburgh, in John Stowe's hand, in the margin.

(84)

ffor to reherce or tell in special	582	I cannot relate all his warlike deeda.
Euery act þat his swerd / in steel wroot there,		
And many a place / elles I woot nat al ;		
And thogh euery act come had to myn ere,		
To yepresse <sup>1</sup> hem / my spirit wolde han fere,	586	
Lest I his thank' par chaunce mighte abregge		
Thurgh vnkonnyng / if I hem sholde allegge.	588	

(85)

" But this I seye / he callid is Humfrey	589	[leaf 21] He is well named 'Humfrey,'
Conueniently, as þat it seemeth me,		
ffor this conceit is in myn herte al-wey,		
Bataillous Mars / in his natiuitee		
Vn-to þat name / of verray specialtee	593	
Titled him / makynge him ther-by promesse		
þat strecche he sholde in-to hy worthynesse ;	595	

(86)

" ffor humfrey / as vn-to myn intellect,	596	for that means 'I shall make a man,'
'Man, make I shal' / in englissh is to seye ; <sup>2</sup>		
And þat byheeste / hath taken treewe effect,		
As the commune fame / can bywrewe :		and Common Fame says he is one.
Who-so his worthy knyghthode / can weye	600	
Duely in his conceites balaunce,		
Ynow hath / wher-of his renoun enhance.	602	

(87)

" To cronicle his actes / wer' a good deede,	603	It would be a good deed to chronicle his feats, to encourage other men.
ffor they ensauple mighte, and encorage		
fful many a man / for to taken heede		
How for to gouerne hem in the vsage		
Of armes / it is a greet auantage	607	

<sup>1</sup> For 'expresse' ?

<sup>2</sup> Humfrey, quasi 'homme feray' [in margin] ? in a 17th-Century hand. Other scribble: 'John, Thomas . . John . . I winsayn bene . . as . . so p ff H Hon . . Ar mo . . stoke . . gingen . . Wiilyam.'

132 HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. HOW CAN I PLEASE THE DUKE OF GLO'STER?

A man before him / to haue a mirour,  
Ther-in to see the path vn-to honour. 609

(88)

[leaf 21, back] " O lord / whan he cam to the seege of Roon 610  
At the siege  
of Rouen,

ffro Chirburgh / whether fere or cowardyse,  
So ny the walles / made him for to goon  
Of the town / as he dide? I nat souffyse  
To telle yow / in how knyghtly a wyse 614

Duke Humfrey  
did knightly.

He logged him ther' / and how worthyly  
He baar him / what / he is al knyght soothly. 616

(89)

What can I say  
to please him?

¶ " Now, good freend / shoue at the cart, I yow preye ;  
What thyng may I make vn-to his plesance? 618  
Withouten your reed / noot I what to seye."

¶ ' O / no, pardee, Thomas / o. no, ascañnce.'

¶ " No, certein, freend / as now no cheuissance 621  
Can I ; your conseil is to me holsum ;

As I truste in yow, mynystreth me sum." 623

(90)

He cares only for  
proper things.

¶ ' Wel Thomas / trowest thou his hy noblesse 624  
Nat rekke / what mateere þat it be  
þat thou shalt make of?' ¶ " no, freend, as I gesse,  
So þat it be mateere of honestee."

¶ ' Thomas, and thanne I wole auyse me ; 628

ffor who-so reed & conseil yeue shal,  
May nat on heed / foorth renne ther-wiþ-al. 630

(91)

[leaf 22] ' And þat<sup>1</sup> so noble a Prince, namely, 631

So excellent / worthy and honourable,  
Shal haue / needith good auys soothly,  
þat it may be plesant and agreable

Hoccleve's friend.  
You must write  
on a worthy  
topic.

To his noblesse / it is nat couenable 635

To wryte to a prince so famous,  
But it be good mateer' and vertuous. 637

<sup>1</sup> What poem.

(92)

'Thow woost wel / who shal an hous edifie, Gooth nat ther-to withoute auisament, If he be wys, for <i>wit</i> his mental ye ffirst is it seen / pourposid / cast & ment, How it shal wroght been / elles al is shent. Certes, for the deffaute of good foresighte, Mis-tyden thynges / þat wel tyde mighte.	¶ <i>Si quis habet fundare domum, non currit ad actum.</i>  ¶ <i>Impetuosa manus, &amp;c.</i>	No one begins to build a house without advice.
	642	
	644	

(93)

'This may been vn-to thee / in thy makyng A good mirour / thow wilt nat haaste, I trowe, Vn-to thy penne / and ther- <i>wit</i> wirke heedlyng, Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe What thow shalt wryte / o, Thomas / many a throwe Smertith the fool / for lak' of good auys ; But no wight hath it smerted þat is wys ;	645   648  651	You mustn't write without taking thought, and getting advice.
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(94)

'ffor wel is he waar / or he wryte or speke, What is to do or leue / Who by prudence Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke Hastily ne of rakil negligence.'	652	[leaf 22, back]
¶ "ffreend, þat is sooth / o / now your assistence And help / what I shal make, I now byseeche ; In your wys conceit / serche yee & seeche."	656 658	True, friend, says Hoocleve, advise me.

(95)

¶ He a long tyme in a studie stood, And aftir þat, thus tolde he his entente :	659	
¶ 'Thomas, sauf better auys, I holde it good, Syn now the holy seson is of lente In which it sit euery man <i>him</i> repente Of his offense / and of his wikkidnesse / Be heuy of thy gilt / and the confesse,	663 665	<i>Hoocleve's friend.</i> Thomas, as it's now Lent,  repent and confess your sins,

134 HOCCELEVE'S DIALOG. HOW HE CAN GET WOMEN'S FAVOUR AGAIN.

(96)

and make amends for them. You've often blamed women;  have written a quarter-sack of words against them, that they've not forgiven or forgotten.	' And satisfaccion do thow for it. Thow woost wel / on wommen, greet wyt <sup>1</sup> & lak' Ofte haast thow put / be waar / lest thow be qwit. Thy wordes fille wolde a quarter sak, <sup>2</sup> Which thow in whyt / depeynted haast <i>wit</i> blak'; In hir reproof, mochil thyng haast thow write, That they nat foryeue haue / ne foryite.	666      672
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(97)

[leaf 23] Now write in praise of them.	' Sumwhat now wryte in honour & preysynge Of hem / so maist thow do correccioun Sundel of thyn offense and mis-berynge. Thow art cleene out of hir' affeccioun ; Now syn it is in thyn eleccioun Whethir thee list / hir loue ageyn purchase, Or stonde as thow doost / out of loue & grace /	673      677  679
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(98)

It wants craft and art to please women.  But you can do it if	' Bewar, rede I / cheese the better part. Truste wel this / wommen been feH and wyse ; Hem for to plesse / lyth greet craft & art. Wher no fyr maad is / may no smoke aryse ; But thow haast ofte / if thow thee wel auyse, Maad smoky brondes / and for al þat gilt, yit maist thow stonde in grace / if þat thow wilt.	680     684  686
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(99)

you'll confess your guilt,  and please them. You can't fight.	' By buxum herte & by submission To hir graces / yilding thee coupable / Thow pardon maist haue, & remission And do vn-to hem plesance greable. To make partie / art thow nothyng able ; Humble thy goost / be nat sturdy of herte ; Better than thow art / han they maad to smerte.	687     691  693
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<sup>1</sup> *wyte*, blame ; not *wit*, the little brain that Hoccleve had.

<sup>2</sup> A sack that holds a quarter (being a double sack), = a lot of words.—T. Austin.

Hoocle. Dial. (Dur. II)

HOCCLEVE'S DIALOG. PRAISE OF WOMEN 'LL PLEASE THE DUKE. 135

(100)

'The wyf of Bathe, take I for auctrice þat wo:men han no ioie ne deyntee þat men sholde vp-on hem putte any vice ; I woot wel so / or lyk' to þat, seith shee. By wordes writen / Thomas, yilde thee ; Euene as thow by scripture hem haast offendid, Right so / let it be by wrytynge amendid.'	694	[leaf 23, back] Chaucer's Wife of Bath says women don't like men to make them out vicious.
	698	As you've offend- ed em by writing, now make amends by it.
	700	

(101)

¶ " ffreend / thogh I do so / what lust or pleisir Shal my lord haue in þat / noon / thynkith me." ¶ ' Yis, Thomas, yis / his lust and his desir Is / as it wel sit / to his hy degree, ffor his desport / & mirthe in honestee, With ladyes / to haue daliance : And this booke / wole he shewen hem par chance.	701	
		The Duke likes
	705	daliance with ladies. He'll show em your booke,
	707	

(102)

' And syn he thy good lord is / he be may ffor thee swich mene / þat the lightlyere Shuln they foryeue thee / putte in assay My conseil / let see / nat shal it thee dere ; So wolde I doon / if in thy plyt I were. Leye hond on thy breest / if thow wilt so do, Or leue / I can no more seyn ther-to.	708	
		and get you their forgiveness.
	712	
	714	

(103)

¶ ' But thogh to wommen thow thyn herte bowe, Axyng hir graces / with greet repentance ffor thy giltes / thee wole I nat allowe To take on thee swich rule and gouernance As they thee rede wolde / for greuance So greet / ther folwe mighte of it, par cas, That thow repente it sholdest ay, Thomas.	715	[leaf 24]
		But you mustn't put yourself under women's rule.
	719	
	721	



(104)

Eve begyled Adam, and the serpent ber.

But God said Eve should break the serpent's head.

¶ ' Adam begyled was *wilk* Eeues reed, ¶ *Genesis Alt domi-*  
 And sikir so was shee by the Serpent, *mus ad serpentem /*  
 To whom god seide / " this womman thyn heed *ipm conseret caput*  
 Breke shal / for thurgh thyn enticement *tuum, &c.*  
 Shee hath y-broken my *commandement.*" 726  
 Now, syn *womman* had of the feend swich might ;  
 To breke a mannes<sup>1</sup> heed / it seemeth light. 728

(105)

So let no husband feel shame if his wife break his head.

' ffor why, let noon housbonde / thynke it shame 729  
 Ne repreef vn-to him / ne vilenye,  
 Thogh his wyf do to him *pat* selue same.  
 Hir reson axith haue of men maistrie 732  
 Thogh holy writ witnessse and testifie ¶ *Eodem capitulo /*  
 Men sholde of hem han dominacioun, *Sub virt potestate eris /*  
 It is the reuers in probacioun. *& ipse dominabitur tui*  
 735

(106)

[leaf 24, back] Hang up your hatchet, and sit down.

How do you and your wife get on? *Hoccleus.* She wouldn't like me to tell you.

' Hange vp his hachet / & sette him adoun ;<sup>2</sup> 736  
 ffor *wommen* wole assente in no maneere  
 Vn-to *pat* poynt / ne *pat* conclusioun.  
 ¶ Thomas / how is it twixt thee & thy feere? 739  
 ¶ " Wel, wel, *quod* I / what list yow ther<sup>o</sup>f heere?  
 My wyf mighte haue hokir & greet desdeyn  
 If I sholde in swich cas / pleye a soleyn." 742

(107)

*Hoccleus's friend.* If you want to live in ease,

take patiently all that women say.

¶ ' Now Thomas / if thee list to lyue in ese, 743  
 Prolle aftir *wommennes* beneuolence.  
 Thogh it be dangerous / good is *hem* plese,  
 ffor hard is it / to renne in hir<sup>o</sup> offense.  
 What so they seyn / take al in pacience. 747  
 Better art thow nat / than thy fadres before,  
 Thomas, han been / be right wel waar therfore.' 749

<sup>1</sup> Why is a man's head easier to break than a serpent's?  
<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Wife of Bath's Prolog and Tale.*

(108)

¶ "ffreend, hard it is / wommen to greeue, I grante ;	
But what haue I agilt / for him þat dyde,	751
Nat haue I doon why / dar I me auante,	
Out of wommennes graces slippe or slyde."	
¶ ' Yis, Thomas, yis / in thepistle of Cupyde	754
Thow haast of hem / so largeliche said,	
That they been swart wrooth / & ful euele apaid.'	756

In your  
'Epistle of Cupid'  
[In Stowe's hand]  
you've abused  
'em, and they're  
angry with you.

(109)

¶ "ffreend / doutelees sumwhat ther is ther-in	757	[leaf 25]
þat sowneth but right smal to hir honour ;		
But as to þat / now, for your fadir kyn,		
Considereth / ther-of / was I noon Auctour ;		
I nas in þat cas / but a reportour	761	I only reported other folks' tales.
Of folkes tales / as they seide / I wroot :		
I nat affermed it on hem / god woot !	763	

*Hoccleve.*  
But I didn't write  
that myself.

(110)

" Who so þat shal reherce a mannes sawe,	764	Whoever reports a man's sayings, must write what he said.
As þat he seith / moot he seyn & nat varie, <sup>1</sup>		
ffor, and he do / he dooth ageyn the lawe		
Of trouthe / he may tho wordes nat contrarie.		
Who-so þat seith ' I am hir' Aduersarie,	768	And if any one says I run down women because I reported things of 'em in my 'Cupid,'
And dispreise hir condicions and port,		
ffor þat I made of hem swich a report,' /	770	

(111)

" He mis-auysed is / and eek to blame.	771	he is to blame.
Whan I it spak' / I spak compleynnyngly ;		
I to hem thoghþe no reproof ne shame.		
What world is this / how vndirstande am I ?	774	I didn't reprove 'em.
Looke in the same book' / what stikith by ?		
Who so lookith aright / ther'in may see		
þat they me oghþen haue in greet cheertee,	777	On the contrary, Women ought to hold me dear,

<sup>1</sup> This is Chaucer's excuse for telling his naughty Tales.

(112)

[leaf 25, back]  
or I don't know  
what's what.

“ And elles / woot I neuere what is what. 778  
The book' concludith for hem / is no nay,  
Vertuously / my good freend / dooth it nat ?”  
¶ ‘ Thomas, I noot / for neuere it yit I say.’  
“ No, freend ?” ¶ ‘ no, Thomas ’ / ¶ “ Wel trowe I,  
in fay ; 782  
ffor had yee red it fully to the ende,  
yee wolde seyn / it is nat as yee wende.” 784

(113)

*Hoccleve's friend.*  
‘ Well, Thomas,  
do as I bid you ;  
please the women.

‘ Thomas / how so it be / do as I seide : 785  
Syn it displesith hem / amendes make.  
If þat some of hem thee ther-of vpbreide,  
Thow shalt be bisy ynow, I vndirtake,  
Thy kut to keepe / now I thee bytake 789  
To god / for I moot needes fro thee weende :  
The love and thank' of wommen / god thee seende !

(114)

Now and then I  
shall visit you  
before your  
book's done,

‘ Among, I thynke thee for to visyte 792  
Or þat thy book' fully finisshid be,  
ffor looth me were / thow sholdest aght wryte  
Wherthurgh / thow mightest gete any maugree ;  
And for þat cause / I wole it ouersee ; 796  
And, Thomas / now a dieu & fare weel ;  
Thow fynde me shalt / al so treewe as steel.’ 798

(115)

[leaf 26]  
When my friend  
was gone,

Whan he was goon / I in myn herte dredde 799  
Stonde out of wommennes beneuolence ;  
And to fulfille þat / þat he me redde,  
I shoop me do my peyne and diligence  
To wynne hir loue by obedience. 803  
Thogh I my wordes can nat wel portreye /  
Lo, heer the fourme / how I hem obeye. 805

(116)

¶ My ladyes aH / as wialy god me blesse,	806	But, ladies,
Why þat yee meeued been / can I nat knowe ;		
My gilt cam neuere yit' to the ripnesse,		
Al-thogh yee for your fo / me deeme & trowe ;		
But I your freend be / byte me the crowe !	810	tho' you think me your foe, I'm your friend, or else may the Crow bite me !
I am al othir to yow / than yee weene ;		
By my wrytynge / hath it, & shal be, seene.	812	

(117)

But natheles / I lowly me submitte	813	
To your bontees / as fer as they han place		
In yow / vn-to me, wrecche, it may wel sitte		
To axe pardoun / thogh I nat trespace ;		
Leuer is me / with pitous cheere & face,	817	Still, I'll beg your pardon tho' I've never harmed you.
And meek spirit, do so / than open werre		
yee make me / & me putte atte werre. <sup>1</sup>	819	

(118)

A tale eek' / which I in the Romayn deedis	820	[leaf 26, back!]
Now late sy / in honur & plesance		And, to please you, ladies,
Of yow, my ladyes /—as I moot needis,		
Or take my way / for fere in-to ffrance,—		
Thogh I nat shapen be / to prike or prañce,—	824	
Wole I translate / and þat shal pourge, I hope,		
My gilt / as cleene / as keuerchiefs dooth sope.	826	I'll english you a tale from the <i>Gesta Roma- norum</i> .

<sup>1</sup> At foot, in a later hand : 'Hyharie' (?).  
<sup>2</sup> Per me gabriell curtys [in a later hand at top].

[For various readings from MS Reg. 17 D 6, see p. 243.]

XXII.

ffabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

The *Gesta Romanorum* says the Emperor Jereslaus

wedded the fair daughter of the King of Hungary,

In the Romain actes written is thus : 1  
 Whitom an Emperour in the Citee  
 Of Roome regned, clept Iereslaus,  
 Which, his noble estat & hy dignitee  
 Gouerned wysly ; & weddid had he 5  
 The doghtir of the kyng of Vngarie,  
 A fair lady / to euery mannes ye. 7

(2)

a virtuous and merciful woman.

And for þat beautee in womman, allone 8  
 Withouten bontee, is nat commendable,  
 Shee was ther-to / a vertuouse persone,  
 And specially pitous & merciabe  
 In aH hir wirkes / which ful couenable 12  
 And pertinent is / vn-to wommanhede :  
 Mercy causith / good renoñ fer to sprede.<sup>1</sup> 14

(3)

[leaf 27] Jereslaus resolves

to go to the Holy Land.

Now in my tale fourth wole I proceede : 15  
 As þat this Emperour in his bed lay  
 Vp-on a nyght / a thoght gan in him breede,  
 Vn-to the holy land / to take his way ;  
 And on the morwe / left<sup>2</sup> lenger delay, 19  
 His wyf and his brothir / he made appeere  
 Before him / and hem seide in this maneere : 21

(4)

He tells his wife.

“ My deere wyf / myn hertes ioie and hele, 22  
 þat thyng þat stablisshid in myn herte is,  
 I can nat hyde fro thee / ne concele,  
 Ne nat ne wole / and shortly it is this :  
 Vn-to the holy lond / I wole ywis ; 26

<sup>1</sup> b b b h h h . . . Thomas kyngston hath Rede this gudly boke [in a later hand at the bottom of the page]. <sup>2</sup> ? MS. leat.

And for thy / make I thee principally  
Of al thempyre / me absent / 'lady,'

28 He makes his  
wife "Lady" of  
the Empire,

(5)

"Bytakyng and committynge vn-to thee,  
Of peple and land / the charge special ;  
And vndir thee / my brothir heer shal be  
Steward of it / to rule & gouerne al  
That to me and my peple, greet & smal,  
Profitable is / by Conseil & assent  
Algate of thee / and thyn auysament.<sup>1</sup>

29 with charge of the  
folk and land;

and his brother  
"Steward," to  
rule all

33

by her advice.

35

(6)

"Al-thogh thee thynke / this purpos sodeyn,  
Yit be nat heuy / but in gree it take.  
With goddes grace / my comynge ageyn  
Shal nat be longe to / I, for thy sake,  
Wole the shorter' abood / there make.  
Truste me weel / as blyue as þat I may,  
Haaste I me wole / fro thennes away."

36 [leaf 27, back]

He promises, for  
her sake, to come  
back home as soon  
as he can.

40

42

(7)

¶ To whom / with spirit of humilitee,  
She seide / "syn it is your good plesance  
To departe hens / & / go to þat Contree,  
I take moot algates, in souffrance,  
Your wil / and shal, *witli* hertes obeissance,  
As treewe as turtle / þat lakkith hir feere  
In your absence / I shal be / my lord deere.

43 His wife, the  
Empress,

submits to his  
will.

47

She will be as  
true to him as the  
turtle-dove to its  
mate.

49

(8)

"fful sore I am agast, & greetly dreede  
þat neuere yee shuln thennes with your lyf  
Retorne / almighty god yow saue & speede !"  
he [to] hir' yaf wordes confortatyf,  
And kiste hir' / and seide, "farewel, wyf !  
Be nat abasshit / ne nat dreedith, I preye ;"  
And fourth he hastith him in his iourneye.

50

54

56 The Emperor  
starts for the  
Holy Land.

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at side ; 'h h ham for . . L L L . . L L,' &c.

142 JERESLAUS'S WIFE. HIS BROTHER TRIES TO CORRUPT HIS WIFE.

(9)

[leaf 28] The Empress grieves greatly at his going.	The sorwe of herte / and cheer' of heuynesse <sup>1</sup>	57
	Which this good lady at his departynge Made / the book' nat can telle or expresse ; Wherfore / of þat haue I no knowlechyng ; Eek' kepe I nat / the belle of sorwe out rynges,	61
	Thogh þat I kneew wel euery circumstance Of hir' wo / & hir' heuy contenance.	63

(10)

His brother gets proud,	¶ But whan this Emperour was thus agoon, His brothirs herte was so eleuat And so proud / þat by wight ne sette he noon ; Him self forgat he / for his hy estat ;	64
oppresses the poor,	The pore & simple folk / this potestat Oppressid sore / and dide hem greet duresse ;	68
and robs the rich.	The riche / he robbid eek' of hir richesse.	70

(11)

Worse still,	And yit this wikkid man / this Seneschal, Meeued was werse / and to fulfil it / thoghte ;	71
he plans and strives	he dide his might / and his peyne total, And alle weyes / serchid he & soghte,	
to carry out a greater crime ;	And to brynge it aboute he faste wroghte ; Al-thogh he faillid / at preef and assay,	75
but a woman's No stops him.	He was knyht vp / with a wommanly nay.	77

(12)

[leaf 28, back] This Steward or Seneschal tries to make the Empress lie with him.	He day by day lay / on this Emperice <sup>2</sup> To make hir' vn-to him fleshly consente ; ¶ But shee answerde / " it wer' ouer greet vice To me / if I ther-to myn herte bente.	78
She refuses,	Nay, brothir, nay / god woot, I neuere it mente,	82

<sup>1</sup> thomas . . Thomas kaye the sonne of thomas kay . . Thom-  
mas Kaye the sone of Thomas Kaye . . Thomas Kaye the sonne  
. . s hus' [in a later hand in the margin].

<sup>2</sup> In a later hand, at top : 'be it kouge vnto all men be thes  
present Wrying.'

Ne neuere shal / I truste in goddes grace ;  
 Yee goon wrong / yee mis-chosen han your place. 84

(13)

“In al your lyf / yee neuere, ne noon othir, 85

Shal make me consente to þat synne.  
 ifor shame, fy / þat yee, my lordes brothir,  
 And whom þat he right feithful trust hath Inne,

and reproaches  
 him for his  
 treachery to his  
 brother,

89

Sholde any swich tale / to me begynne,  
 Which wer' ageyn his / and your honestee,  
 And myn / þat am his wyf, wel knowen yee.

91 whose wife she is.

(14)

“A treewe wyf / I lyue wole & dye ;  
 his wole I be / to whom þat I am bownde  
 Whyle he lyueth and I / withouten lye ;  
 Trustith wel / it noon othir shal be fownde.”

92 She will be a  
 true wife to her  
 husband.

But for al this / at euery tyme & stownde  
 he stired hire / whan he fond hir soul,  
 Vn-to this deede vicious and foul.

96 But still this bad  
 Steward urges her  
 to vice.

98

(15)

And whan shee sy / shee mighte haue no reste,—  
 Nat wolde he stynte of his iniquitee,—

99 [leaf 29]

Shee aftir three / or foure / of the gretteste  
 Of al thempire sente / and thus spake shee :

The Empress  
 sends for 3 or 4  
 Magnates,

¶ “Sires / the cause / þat hath meeued me  
 ffor yow to sende / is this / as I shal seyn,  
 Of which / I sore encombred am / certeyn :

103 and tells them

105

(16)

“yee woot wel / þat my lord the Emperour,  
 In his absence / hath maad me principal  
 Of thempire / and his brothir gouernour  
 And Steward vndir me / for to rule al,  
 With this addicioñ / þat he nat shal  
 Wirke / my Conseil and assent vnhad :  
 This was my lordes wil / and thus he bad ;

106 that the Emperour  
 made her Chief  
 of the Empire,  
 and his brother  
 Steward, to rule

110

by her advice.

112



144 JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE HAS HER BROTHER-IN-LAW IMPRISONED.

(17)

But the Steward has oppress and robbd,  and tried to do worse to her.	“ And natheles / the poore he hath oppressid, And robbid ryche folk' / yee woot, I trowe ; And werse thyng / which shal nat been expressid As now / he wolde han doon / my self it knowe ; Wherefore / vp-on the feith / which þat ye owe To my lord / and on his part, I yow charge Enprisono him / let him nat goon at large ; <sup>1</sup>	113    117  119
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

The Magnates  
must imprison

(18)

[leaf 29, back] and fetter him.	fettreth him faste” / and they answerden thus : ¶ “ Ma dame / he hath doon many a wikkid deede Syn our lord wente / it wel knowe is to vs. To your commandement / as we moot neede / We wole obeie / but withoute dreede yee muste in this / warrante vs and allowe, Lest our lord / whan he comth / vs disallowe.”	120    124  126
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(19)

She will stand by them. So the Magnates put the Steward in prison and in fettres.	¶ “ What, Sires,” quod shee / “ doutith yow right noght; ffor if my lord kneew / as mochil as I, That he hath doon / sholde be deere boght. þat I yow charge / wole I stande by.” They made anoon areest on his body, And in-to prison / they him threew & caste, And fettred him in yren bondes faste,	128   131  133
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------

(20)

When he hears the Emperor is coming home,	Wher' he abood / til þat word comen was, How þat the Emperour was hoom comynge. Thanne he thus thoghte / “ how shal I doon / allas, Now knowe shal my lord, by enquiryng, The verray cause of myn enprisonynge,	134    138
-------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------

<sup>1</sup> Later, at foot: 

ii	—	s	—	d
1	—	10	—	2
—		9	—	4
		3	—	4
				84

[1 crost thro' for 2] 

2	2	10	100
—		—	—
		42	10

S<sup>e</sup> to to

Summa totalis

*Howel. J Wife (Dur. U)*

JERESLAUS'S WIFE. HER BROTHER-IN-LAW BEGS HER FORGIVENESS. 145

Wherthurgh, his grace / I vtirly shal leese,  
Or per cas / my lyf / I ne shal nat cheese ; 140

(21)

“ In feith if I may / it shal nat be so.” 141 [leaf 30]  
A messenger / as blyue ordeyned he, he sends to the  
And made him / to the Emperice go, Empress,  
And byseeche hir' / of hir hy[e] bontee, and begs her  
Syn shee had ay been of hir grace free, 145  
þat shee so mochil grace / wolde him do, to come and speak  
As come / and speke a word with him or two. 147 to him.

(22)

¶ Vn-to the dore / of his prison / shee cam ; 148  
Withouten danger / shee ther-to obeide :  
“ What is your wil,” quod shee / “ lo, heer' I am.” She comes.  
He lookid pitously // and meekly preide,<sup>1</sup>  
“ O gracious lady / reewe on me,” he seide ; 152 He prays her  
“ If þat my lord me fynde heer' in prison, to pity him.  
My death wole it been, & confusion. 154

(23)

“ My gentil lady / what shal yow profyte 155 What good 'll his  
To do me of a mescheuous death sterue? death do her?  
If þat I lyue may / wole I me qwyte  
Treewely to yow / and your thank disserue. If she'll spare  
What yow list me commande / I wole obserue, 159 him, he'll repay  
And do as humblely as any man her and deserve  
þat in this world lyueth / do may or can.” 161 her mercy.

(24)

And shee anon right, meeued of pitee, 162 [leaf 30, back]  
Seide / “ if [þat] I wiste þat of thy folie  
Thow stynte woldest, & amende thee  
Hens-foorth / and thee vn-to vertu applie,  
My grace wolde I nat to thee denye.” 166 she'll pardon him.  
He seide and swoor / al þat he cowde swere, He swears he will.  
Amende he wolde / and wel aftir him bere. 168

<sup>1</sup> Later, at side: 'hyghte . . Thomas . . bee.'  
HOCOLEVE, M. P.—II.

(25)

	¶ O noble lady / symple and Innocent,	169
Alas, she trusts him,	Trustynge vp-on his ooth and his promesse, ful wo is me / for thy wo consequent!	
	Often happith / wommannes tendrenesse	
	Torneth hir' vn-to harm / and to duresse :	173
	This Emperice fond it so by preef,	
	Whom þat forsworn man / greet harm dide, & greef.	175

(26)

sets him free,	This man shee took' out of the prison hous,	176
	And made him bathid been, and freshly shaue,	
clothes him,	And dide him clothe in clothes precious,	
puts him on a steed,	And a fressh Courser / eek' shee made him haue, And seide, "now, brothir / so god yow saue !	180
and bids him ride with her to meet the Emperor.	Takith your hors / and ryde fourth <i>with</i> me Toward my lord" / and fourth <i>with</i> hir' rood he.	182

(27)

[leaf 81]	And as they riden / right in the hy way <sup>1</sup>	183
As they ride, a hart starts,	Ny a fforeste / an hert before hem ran :	
and every man rushes after it.	Ther nas but "ryde on, ryde / and hay, dogge, hay !" Euery man dooth his peyne / in what he can, The hert to suë / ther leftë no man	187
The Emperis is left alone with the Steward.	<i>With</i> this good lady / sauf this wikkid wight, This Steward / which brak' al þat he had hight.	189

(28)

	¶ Par auenture / men wole han meruaih,	190
	That damoisele / <i>with</i> hir' had shee noon :	
	No force of þat / the book' withouten faith Makith no mynde / as mochil as of oon ;	
(This happend long ago.)	This chauce shoop / many a yeer agoon ;	194
	That tyme par cas / was no swich array	
	As þat in sundry Contrees is this day.	196

<sup>1</sup> Later, at top : 'within . . from eve dep.

(29)

Whan this knyght sy / ther was noon but they two, 197	
To themperice / he seide in this maneere :	He asks her
“It is ago fern / syn I spak' yow to	
Of loue / come on now, my lady deere,	to come into the forest and yield
With me / in-to this priuee foreste heere,	201 to his desire.
That y of yow / may haue my talent !	
Now shal be doon / þat I longe haue ment.”	203

(30)

¶ “What, fool / took I thee nat out of prison),	204	[leaf 31, back]
No lenger' hens / than yistirday,” quod shee,		She reproaches him,
In trust and hope / of thy correccion),		
As thow swoor / and behightest vn-to me ;		
And now to thy folie and nycetee	208	
Retourne woldest thow / nay, doutelees		
It shal nat be / stynte and holde thy pees !	210	bids him hold his tongue,

(31)

“Ther neuere shal man / do with me þat deede,	211	
Sauf my lord themperour / which þat of right		
Licenced is ther-to / o, god forbeede,		
þat by myn honestee / sette I so light !		
Peyne thee nat ther-to / for in thy might	215	
Shal it nat be / thy wil for to perfourme ;		
By no way wole I me ther-to confourme.”	217	and absolutely refuses him.

(32)

And he answerde / and spak' vnreuerently :	218	He declares that if she won't give herself to him,
“But if þat thow / consente wilt to me		he'll hang her on a tree by her hair,
In this foreste / as swythe right wole y		
Hange thee by thyn heer / vp-on a tree,		
Wher no wight shal thee fynde / and so,” quod he, 222		
Of wikkid deeth / thow sterue shalt & die ;		to starve and die.
Truste on noon help at al, ne remedie.”	224	

148 JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE IS STRIPT AND HANGD UP BY HER HAIR.

(33)

[leaf 22]	¶ " By thy manaces / sette I nat a myte,"	225
She scornes his threats.	Shee seide / " of hem haue I no dreede at al. Thogh̄ thow me thretne / myn heed of to smyte, And do me what torment thow canst / I shal Thee werne ay þat / this for answer' final	229
He shall never have her alive.	Take if thee list / for, to þat poynt me dryue, Thow neuere shalt / whyles I am on lyue.	231

(34)

The Steward strips the Empress to her smock, hangs her on an oak by her hair,  and rides off, the tyrant.	" Thow woost wel / in effect / thus seide I eer." He strypid hir' anon / left al delay, Vn-to hir smok / and heng hir' by hir' heer Vp-on an ook' / and by hir', hir palfray He stonde leet / and foorth on deuel way Rood this tirant / this man malicious, This cruel-herted man enuenumous.	232     236  238
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(35)

Then he lies to his men,  and says that the Empress was carried off by force from him.	And whan he had his felawshipe atake, He blew and blustred / and made heuy cheere ; And a strong lesyng' / he gan to hem make ; He seide, " allas / þat I nere on my beere, So wo is me / for þat my lordes feere, My lady, is me reft / by force of men." God yeue him sorwe // and aȝt swiche [Amen]!	239    243  245
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(36)

[leaf 22, back] Liar, stinking adulterer,  traitor,	¶ O false lyer' / o thow cofre and cheste <sup>1</sup> Of vnclennesse / o stynkyng Aduoutour In wil, seye I / and willy to incese ; O false man to god / and thow traitour To thy lord and brothir, the Emperour ; O enemy to wyfly chastitee, And in thy wirkes ful of crueltee ;	246    250  252
-----------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

<sup>1</sup> Later, at top: 'O false lyer.'

(37)

¶ O cursid feendly wrecche / why hast thou 253 devilish wretch!  
 Deceyued & betrayed Innocence?  
 What wilt thou seye / & how wilt thou looke, how,  
 Whan thou comest / to thy Lordes presence,  
 And art opposid by his excellence, 257  
 How þat it with his lady hath betid[de]?  
 I am seur / þat the trouthe shal been [hidde]. 259

(38)

ffor as wel as þat to thy conpaignie 260  
 Thou lyedist / whan thou hem ouertook /  
 As lowde wilt thou / vn-to thy lord lye, you'll lie to your  
 I woot wel / and with bolde face and look. Lord.  
 Natheless / of this tretith nat the book; 264  
 Wherforē to my talē wole I go,  
 Of this lady / and fourth tell of hir wo. 266

(39)

¶ Whan þat shee so had hanged dayes three,<sup>1</sup> 267 [leaf 33]  
 By þat forestē / rood ther on huntynge  
 An Erl / þat was of a strangē contree; An Earl, while  
 Beforn whos howndes was a fox rennynge, hunting,  
 And they aftir it blyuē folewyng; 271  
 And as þat they ran / they hadden a sent  
 Of the lady / and thidir be they went; 273

(40)

And there as shee heeng / they stood at a bay. 274  
 This Erl, of þat meruaillyng he greetly, sees the Empress  
 Thidir him hyeth / in al þat he may; hanging on the  
 And whan he hire / there hangynge sy, oak.  
 He seidē / " womman / what art thou, & why 278  
 Hangest thou in this wyse vp-on the tree?"  
 ¶ " A strange womman / sire, am I " / quod shee, 280

<sup>1</sup> Later, at top: 'Wh . . . Benzamen . . . benefold . . . Beniamin . . . Benee e e e e.' At side: 'Thomas, I haue my hertili comendyd vnto you of du . . .'

150 XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE IS GOVERNESS TO THE EARL'S DAUGHTER.

(41)

	" Of fer[re] parties / how in-to this place	281
She won't tell him who she is.	I cam / god woot" / shee wolde by no way	
	Deskeuere what shee was / ne what fallace	
	Was doon to hire / cloos she kepte hire ay,	
	And tolde nat o word of hire affray.	285
	Than axed hire the Erl / " whos hors is this	
	pat by thee standith?" // quod shee, " myn it is;"	

(42)

[leaf 33, back]	Wherby the Erl anon right vndirstood	288
	pat it noon othir wyse mighte be,	
	But shee sum gentil womman was of blood ;	
The Earl pities her,	And in his herte / routhe of hire had he,	
	And seide to hire / " if it lyke thee,	292
and offers to free her	Vn-to my wil / thee confourme and enclyne /	
	Deliuere wole I thee / out of thy pyne.	294

(43)

	" Lo, this I meene / this is myn entente ;	295
	A yong doghtir / haue I in soothfastnesse,	
if she'll be his daughter's governess.	Of which I wolde / if pat thee list assente,	
	Thow tooke on thee to be gouerneresse,	
	And teche hire / as longith to a Maistresse	299
	pat Lordes children han in gouernaiff ;	
	And wel wole I thee qwyte thy trauaiff ;	301

(44)

	" Myn entente is pat / and othir right noon."	302
She agrees,	¶ " Sire," quod shee / gladly wole I obeye	
is taken down,	To yow in pat" / and shee was take anon	
	Doun fro the tree / & shortly for to seye,	
goes to the Earl's castle, and takes charge of his girl.	With him to his Castel / shee rood hir weye ;	306
	And of the chyld / shee tooke the gouernance,	
	Which torned hire aftir to greet nusance.	308

(45)

Shee <i>wit</i> this yong chyld in the Chambre lay <sup>1</sup>	309	[leaf 34]
Euery nyght / wher lay therl and the Contesse,		She sleeps with the child in the Earl's room.
Betwixt whos beddes brente a lampe alway ;		
And wel beloued / for hire hy goodnesse,		
Of euery wight was / bothe more and lesse,	313	
This Emperice / til vp-on a nyght,		
Giltles, hir good loos / refte a wikkid wight.	315	

(46)

¶ Ther was a Styward / in this Erles hous,	316	The Earl's Steward wants to lie with her.
pat to hire ofte had spoke of fleshly loue ;		
To whom seide ay this lady gracious,		
"Maad haue I an avow to god aboue,		
Loueres alle / fro myn herte shoue,	320	
Sauf oonly him / whom, of goddes precept,		
To Loue / I holde am / and pat shal be kept.	322	

(47)

"I truste in god / myn herte shal nat change	323	She refuses him.
fro pat, whil my lyf shal soiouerne in me."		
¶ "O / wilt thow so / wilt thow make it so strange ;		
Wilt thow noon othir wyse do," quod he.		
¶ "pat I seid haue / I wole holde," quod shee.	327	
And whan he sy / noon othir remedie,		
He wroothly wente / out of hir compaignie.	329	He resolves to be

(48)

And fro thens foorth / compassid in his wit, <sup>2</sup>	330	[leaf 34, back]
How to be venged / vp-on hire, & wroken.		revenged on her.
¶ And on a nyght / vnhappyly shoop it,		
Left was the Erles Chambre dore vnstoken ;		
To which he com / and fond it was nat loken,	334	

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at top and side : 'o . . of . . of the saide saide . . of the saide . . . 4,000,000,000 . . 278231459 . . . as . . of the Of . . Sy . . 400,000,000 . . 29,000,000.'

<sup>2</sup> Later letters often scribbled in margins : D, h, y, a w n h n, and 'myn . . . And for . . . where . . hyl.'



152 XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. SHE IS WRONGLY ACCUSED OF MURDER.

The Steward  
steals into her  
bedroom,      And theefly in staal / this wikkid persone,  
Where as he fond hem slepyng eueverychone.      336

(49)

And he espyde / by the lampes light,      337

The bed / where as þat lay the Emperice

With therles doghtir / and as blyue right

This feendly man his purposid malice

Thoghte for to fulfilþ and accomplye;      341

cuts the throat of  
the Earl's child,      And so he dide / a long knyf he out drow,  
And ther-with-al / the mayden chyld he slow.      343

(50)

Hir throte with þat knyf / on two he kutte;      344

and puts the  
bloody knife into  
the sleeping  
Empress's hand.      And as this Emperice / lay slepyng,  
In-to hire hand / this bloody knyf he putte,  
ffor men sholde haue noon othir demyng,  
But shee had gilty been / of this murdryng.      348

And whan þat he / had wroght this cursidnesse,  
Anoon out of the Chambre / he gan him dresse.      350

(51)

[leaf 35] ¶ The Contesse aftir / of hir sleep awakid,<sup>1</sup>      351

To themperices bed gan caste hir look',

The Countess  
sees the knife,      And sy the bloody knyf in hire hond nakid,  
And for the fere / shee tremblid and qwook'

wakes the Earl,      And rogged on hir lord / and him awook',      355

Preyng him / to the bed he looke wolde,  
And there a meruailous thyng / seen he sholde.      357

(52)

¶ Whan he was wel awakid of his sleep,      358

He lookid ther-to / as shee him besoghte,

And it byheeld / and of it took' good keep,

And of þat meschief / him sore forthoghte

who thinks the  
Empress guilty,      Demyng þat this cursid deede wroghte      362

This Emperice / as þat it was ful lyk'  
To been / and vp he threwe an heuy syk',      364

<sup>1</sup> Later, at top and in margin: 'The Contesse . . . dan (?) . . . H . . . pr . . . p . . .'

(53)

And hire awook<sup>t</sup> / and thus to hire he cryde, 365  
"Womman! what is þat in thyn hand I see?  
What hast thou doon, womman? for him þat dyde, and accuses her  
of the murder.  
What wikkid spirit / hath trauaillid thee?"  
And as soone / as þat adawid was shee, 369  
The knyf fil out of hire hond in the bed[de],  
And shee byheeld the clothes al bybled[de] / 371

(54)

And the chyld deed: "Allas!" shee cryde, "allas!" [leaf 85, back] 373  
How may this be / god woot al / I noot how;  
I am nat pryuee to this heuy cas; She vows she  
didn't kill the  
child.  
The gilt is nat myn / I the chyld nat slow."  
To which spak<sup>t</sup> the contesse / "what seist thou?" 376  
Excuse the nat / thou maist nat seyn nay;  
The knyf al bloody / in thyn hand I say." 378

(55)

And thus / vn-to hir lord / shee cryde anoon: 379  
"Slee this cursid feend / þat our chyld hath slayn!  
Lat hire no lengere [now] on lyue goon!  
þat y neuere had hire seen / wolde I ful fayn,  
But or shee heer cam / þat shee had be flayn! 383  
ffor so greet wo / cam neuere to myn herte:  
Slee hire as blyue / lat nat hire asterte!" 385

(56)

Al-thogh þat shee were in this cas vengeable, 386  
ffor causes two / me thynkith it smal vice,  
Shee was in þat in partie excusable: (And surely  
appearances  
justified her  
in this.  
¶ Oon is / shee wende / þat the Emperice  
Hire chyld had slayn of purposid malice; 390  
And so it seemed / as by liklyhede,  
Al be it / þat nat were it so in dede. 392

<sup>1</sup> Scribbles of letters at top and in margin: 'H.. Hn.. f..  
the loh, H H, y y y y y y, h h h h h, h h, h h, non ny non,  
h h, a.'

154 XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE IS TURND OUT OF THE EARL'S CASTLE.

(57)

[leaf 26]	þat othir cause / as woot euery man :	393
No love is so great as a mother's for her child ;	In [al] the world / so louyng tendrenesse Is noon / as is the loue of a womman To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,	
and for her hus- band, we married men may say.)	To hire housbonde also / where-of / witnesse We weddid men may here / if þat vs lyke, And so byhoueth / a thank' vs to pyke.	397 399

(58)

	¶ Now foorth / how the erl to themperice him hadde, And how þat he gouerned þat mateere,	401
	Herkneth / with heuy cheere & wordes sadde, To hire he spak' / and seide in this maneere :	403
The Earl says he'll not kill the Empress.	“ Womman / with my swerd / slee wolde I thee heere, Sauf for awe of god / at whos reuerence þat deede wole I putte in abstinence.	406

(59)

	“ Thow haue shalt for me noon harm at al ; But who-so trustith on the curtesie Of thee / ful soone he deceyued be shal.	407
He set her free,	Whan þat thow were / on a tree hangid hye, Where as thow likly haddest been to dye,	411
and in return she's kild his daughter.	Thow woost wel / ther-from I deliured thee, And with my Doghtres deeth / thow qwit hast me !	413

(60)

[leaf 36, back]	“ Vnkynde womman / walke on foorth thy way ;	414
She must go,	Hye thee hens / and neuere see my face ; ffor if þat I / heere-aftr thee see may,— Outhir in this / or eny othir place Of my lordshipe /—thow noon othir grace	418
or else be slain.	Shalt han / but die a deeth ful villenous, Thow wikkid womman, fals and traiterous !	420

(61)

The Empress speaks no word,	This Innocent lady / no word ageyn Spak' / for shee spoken had ynow beforn,	421
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XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE LEAVES THE CASTLE, AND SAVES A THIEF. 155

Excusyng hire / but, al was in veyn ; —her first excuses  
were in vain—  
 ffor whan þat shee had al y-seyd and sworn,  
 Shee with the Erl and his wyf / was doun born ; 425  
 And sikirly / where as þat no credence  
 May been had / wysdam conscillith silence. 427

(62)

¶ What leewe þat shee took<sup>1</sup> / ne woot I nat, 428  
 Or þat shee fro þat place was y-went ;—  
 The booke maketh no mencion of that ;—  
 But hire palfrey / shee hire self hath hent, but mounts her  
palfrey,  
and rides off.  
 And so fourth roode toward the orient. 432  
 O Emperice / our lord god gye thee,  
 ffor yit thee folwith more aduersitee.<sup>1</sup> 434

(63)

As shee rood, on hir right hand / shee espyde 435 [leaf 37]  
 A galwe tree / to which men a theef ledde, She sees a thief  
led to the gallows,  
 Hanged to been / and to hire horses syde  
 The spore gooth / shee faste hire thidir spedde,  
 ffor verray routhe hir thoghte hire herte bledde, 439  
 And to the Officers / meekly shee preide  
 In this wyse / and right thus shee to hem seide : 441

(64)

“Sires, if yow list / this mannes lyf saue 442  
 I reedy am / to yeue yow good meede.”  
 ¶ “We wole wel,” quod they / “what shul we haue ?  
 What lykith yow / for his lyf vs to beede ?  
 Paieth therfore wel / and yee shul speede.” 446  
 They of the paiement / accordid were ; buys him of his  
guards,  
and takes him  
with her.  
 Shee paide / and this man / fourth shee took<sup>1</sup> with here.

<sup>1</sup> In margin, in a later hand :  
 Of alle thinges that I can fynde,  
 Hope dothe help the carefull mynd<sup>2</sup>, quod Carter.

At foot :	s	d.
	20	
	10	— 2
	9	— 4
	39	6

(65)

“ Be to me treewe ” / now *quod* shee, “ my freend, 449  
 Syn fro thy deeth / deliured haue y thee.”  
 ¶ “ Yis, certes, lady / elles to the feend,  
 Body and soule bytake y,” seide he ;  
 “ Noon othir wolde I / for al cristientee, 453  
 Been vn-to yow ” / and foorth shee rood hir way,  
 And on his foot / this man hire folwith ay,<sup>1</sup> 455

The rescued Thief  
 promises to serve  
 the Empress  
 faithfully.

(66)

[leaf 37, back] Til þat they drow / vn-to a Citee ny,<sup>2</sup> 456  
 She sends him  
 to find an Inn  
 in a City, Whidir befor / shee bad him for to go  
 And take hire In / so þat shee honestly  
 Mighte Inned been / and he dide right so,  
 And taried nat his lady longe fro, 460  
 But ageyn hire / as blyue right this man,  
 To brynge hire thidir / faste wente & ran. 462

(67)

and then lives  
 there. Shee cam in-to hir In / and abood there 463  
 Dayes dyuerse / for hire ese and reeste ;  
 And in the Citee / fame wydewhere  
 Sprang / how a lady / the womanlyeste  
 Of cheere / port / shap / and eek<sup>1</sup> the faireste 467  
 That any wight beholde mighte or see,  
 Was come / and Inned hire in the Citee. 469

(68)

She is courted  
 in vain by many  
 lovers. Many a lusty man / in loues art 470  
 Expert and sotil / drow hem to hire In,  
 Weenyng han geten þat / of which no part

<sup>1</sup> At foot, later :

li	s	d
1	— 10	— 2
		9 — 4
<hr/>		
1	19	6

Summa totalis 39<sup>o</sup> 6d

<sup>2</sup> In margin, in a later hand :

Thys ys Iohā Hanook ys boke, ho so euer saye naye,  
 the deuyll of hell bere Thomas Carter awaye !

Know er thow knyht, and then thow mayst slake ; (see p. 124)  
 Iff thow knyht [*M.S.* kynt] er thow know, then hyt ys to late.

They gete kowde / for noon art ne gyn.  
 To thententes corrupt / þat they were In, 474  
 Shee wolde for no thyng / bowe & enclyne ;  
 Hire hertes Castel / kowde they nat myne. 476

(69)

As fer as the boundes of honestee<sup>1</sup> 477 [leaf 38]  
 Requeren / shee made hem disport and cheere ; She is pleasant  
 But passyng it / for al hir sotiltee, with her lovers,  
 for profre of meede / ne for faire preyeere,  
 Shee change nolde hir vertuous maneere ; 481 but nothing more.  
 The lessons þat they in Ouyde had red,  
 Halp hem right noght / they wenten thens vnsped. 483

(70)

¶ O. yee þat seyn / wommen be variant, 484 How silly it is  
 And can nat sad been / if they been assaillid : of men to say  
 Yee been ful vnkonnyng and ignorant, that woman can't  
 And of the soothe / foule yee han faillid ; be constant.  
 Constance is vn-to wommanhode entaillid ; 488  
 Out of þat fee / they nat be dryue may ;  
 Swich hir nature is / thogh sum men seyn nay, 490

(71)

They stidefast been / as fer as y woot, 491  
 But it be / wher they take han a purpos They only change  
 þat naght is / which, be it neuere so hoot, a purpose when  
 They change / lest it hurte mighte hir loos, it might hurt  
 And keepen it secree / couert & cloos, 495 their reputation.  
 Vnexecut / thogh of hem nat a fewe  
 The reuers doon / what / the feend is a shrewe. 497

(72)

Let al this passe / ther cam to the port 498 [leaf 38, back]  
 Of this Citee / a ship with marchandyse A merchant-ship  
 Charged / where-of hir man made report comes.  
 To his lady / shee bad him in al wyse  
 Go thidir, and see / and him wel auyse 502 She sends to  
 know

<sup>1</sup> At top, later : A nunni a A a nunni A nunni k k k (?).

158 XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE ASKS THE SHIPMAN TO SHOW HIS GOODS.

what's on board  
of it.      What thyng ther-in was / & word hoom hire brynge,  
Withoute any delay or tarynge.      504

(73)

Her man (the  
Thief) finds rich  
stuffe,      He thidir wente / & clothes precious,      505  
Amonges othir thynges / there he fond ;

fful ryche was the stuf, and plenteuous,  
Of the ship / and the maistir, by the hond  
he took / and seide / "ga we to the lond,      509

[Vn]To my ladyes In / shee wolde bye,  
If þat yow list / sum of your marchandie."      511

(74)

and takes the  
Shipman      ¶ "I wole gladly" / seide the Shipman ;      512  
And to the ladyes In / they bothe two  
Goon / but before dressith him hir man,

And reported hire / as him ogh̃te do,  
What he had in the ship seen / and ther-to,      516

That the Shipman was comen / he hir tolde,  
Axynge hire / if shee with him speke wolde.      518

(75)

[leaf 59]  
to the Empress.      ¶ "Yis," *quod* shee / "let him in come, I the preye."  
He entred / and vn-to him thus spak shee :      520

She asks him to  
bring his cloths  
to her.      ¶ "Sire / yee han in your ship heere, y seye,  
Dyuerse precious clothes / and if yee  
Wolden some of hem brynge hidir to me,      523

As þat we mighte accorde, wolde y paye  
In honde / and nat your paiement delaye."      525

(76)

He agrees,      ¶ "Ma dame, I grante," he seide / and took' his leeuē ;  
And with him / hir seruant to the ship wente,      527

To whom / the shipman by the way gan meeue :

but tempts her  
thief-servant.      ¶ "ffreend, I am set / on a certein entente,  
Vn-to the whiche / if þat thow wilt assente,      530

And do thy deuer / and my Conseil hyde,  
That thow me kneew / thow blisse shalt the tyde.      532

XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. HER THIEF-SERVANT WILL BETRAY HER. 159

(77)

"O, may I truste / may I truste in thee? 533  
 Thow helpe me maist / and no wight but thow.  
 If thow wilt so / in this necessitee,  
 Gold and siluer wole I thee yeue ynow."  
 ¶ "Yis," quod this seruant, "that I make avow 537  
 To god / if þat it in my power lye,  
 Myn help to thee / ne wole y nat denye. 539

Her thief-servant agrees to take the Shipman's bribe,

(78)

"If thow heere-aftir / fynde þat I gabbe, 540  
 Of my promesse / thanne dokke me ;  
 I neuere was yit / of my tonge a labbe ;  
 þat thyng / þat me told is in priuete, 544  
 Keepe I can wel / be in noon aweertee,  
 But anoon to me telle out al thy gole,  
 ffor treewe and trusty / be to thee y wole." 546

[leaf 39, back]

and vows to be true to him.

(79)

¶ "Grant mercy," seide the Shipman ; "I-wis, 547  
 Now feele I confort / now dar y bywreie  
 To thee myn hertes secree / which is this :  
 Swich excellence of beautee is, y seye,  
 In thy lady / þat but if thow purueye 551  
 ffor me / þat y hir loue may obtene,  
 fful shorte shuln my dayes been / y weene." 553

The Shipman says he must get hold of the Emperess.

(80)

¶ Quod this seruant / "looke how y may profyte 554  
 In this, let see / and me sette in the way  
 How y shal do / and so shal y me qwyte,  
 þat y thy thank / disserue shal for ay ;  
 Al shal be doon right to thyn owne pay ; 558  
 Telle on / how wilt thow þat I me gouerne."  
 The Shipman seide / "and þat I wole as yerne : 560

Her servant

promises to help him.



(81)

[leaf 40]	¶ " On my behalve / to thy lady weende,	561
The servant is to say that the Empress must come to the ship to see the cloths.	And to hire seye / þat in no maneere, Clothes out of my ship may I hire seende ; If hir good lust be, in my ship appeere, Shee shal seen what hir list / <i>with</i> ful good cheere ;	565
	But out of my ship / wole y nothyng selle :	
	Right euene thus / vn-to hir seye and telle ;	567

(82)

He must bring her when the wind's fair for leaving port.	" But of o thyng / thow must thee wel auyse,—	568
	Good heede ther-of take / and nat ne failþ,— Be thow wel waar / in al maneere wyse þat the wynd thanne / be good, hens to sailþ ;	
	Al þat thow doost elles / may nat auailþ ;	572
	ffor lede hire hoom / wole y to my contree :	
	Lo, this is al / þat y desire of thee."	574

(83)

fful sooth is seid / the fals and coueitous	575
Been soone accordid / allas ! this onhede Synful shal be / wikkid and treecherous. O / Emperice / god the gye and lede !	
Thow haast, or this, had trouble greet & drede,	579
And yit a sharp storm is vn-to thee shape ;	
But, thankid be god / al thow shalt eschape.	581

(84)

[leaf 40, back]	¶ Now to purpos / than seide this seruant	582
The man swears he'll do this.	To the Shipman / " come of, yeue me meede, ffor heere y swere / and make couenaunt, This shal be doon / haue there-of no dreede."	
	He had[de], y not what / the deuel <i>him</i> speede	586
	ffor his labour / to be doon in this caas ;	
	And to his lady / dressith he his paas.	588

(85)

He tolde hire / how the Shipman wolde naght	589	Her thief-servant tells her
Deliure clothes / out of his vessel ;		
But if it lykid hire / to bye[n] aght /		
Thidir shee muste come / and he ful wel		she must go to the ship to buy cloths.
With hire wolde do / shee kneew no del	593	
Of the treson / purposid twixt hem two,		
And seide / "in goddes name / it shal be do ;	595	

(86)

"I reedy am to go / whan þat y shal,	596	She agrees.
Syn þat thow seist / it may noon othir be,		
But outhir moot y goon / or leuen al.		
Let vs go thidir as swythe," <i>quod</i> shee.		
¶ "A / nay, madame / it may nat be" / seide he,	600	
"Swich occupacioun hath he this day,		
That he vn-to yow / nat entende may.	602	

(87)

"Ma dame / vs muste abyden his leisir ;	603	[leaf 41]
There-on I. wole awayte bysyly ;		
And whan tyme is / yee shuln han your pleisir.		
Ofter vp-on him awayte moot y,		He waits till
To wite and knowe / wel and redily, <sup>1</sup>	607	
The tyme / whan we shal vs thidir dresse :		
Ma dame / for yow / this best is, y gesse."	609	

(88)

This humble lamb / this lady Innocent,	610	
Of al this treson no notice hauynge,		
Seide / "as þat thow doost / holde y me content."		
Thus hir seruant delayed hir goynge		
Til þat the wynd wel stood / the ship to brynge	614	the wind is off shore, and then takes her to the ship.
Out of the port / and thidir he hir spedde,		
And þat in haaste, he to the ship hire ledde.	616	

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble in margin: After my most . . . Thomas, you be a good samener (!) . . . thom . . . This bit made the . . . b ll . . . Shi.

162 XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. THE SHIPMAN WANTS TO LIE WITH HER

(89)

The Shipman sails off with the Empress.	Whan shee withyn the Shipbord entred was,	617
	Vp gooth the sail / to the top of the mast.	
	Hire man, of purpos / lefte on londe / allas.	
	Quod Shee / " nat was y waar of this forcast ;"	
	And ther-with-al / out to weepe shee brast,	621
	And seide, " what treson / doost thow, Shipman,	
	To me ?" ¶ " nay," quod he, " no treson / womman,	

(90)

[leaf 41, back] and demands to lie with her.	" Nat meene I, but thus / lo / thus wole I do,	624
	fflesshly the kuowe / and aftir wedde thee."	
	¶ " A vow," quod shee / " maad haue I god vn-to,	
	þat neuere so / shal ther man do to me,	
She refuses.	ffor thyng in this world / outake only he	628
	To whom y am y-bownden to / and <sup>1</sup> knyt;	
	The labour is in vein / to speke of it."	630

(91)

He threatens to throw her into the sea.	¶ " Keepe in thy wordes / womman, I thee rede,"	631
	Quod he / " considere and thynke wel, þat thow	
	Of thy lyf standist in peril and drede,	
	ffor in middes of the See been we now.	
	To me conforme / it shal be for thy prow,	635
	Elles in-to the See wole I thee caste ;	
	T'ruste me wel / so wole y do as faste."	637

(92)

She temporizes,	¶ " Now wel," quod shee / " syn y may nat asterte	638
	My deeth / but y your entente fulfillle,	
	Al-thogh it be greetly ageyn myn herte :	
	Yit rather than þat yee me sle or kille,	
	Wole y assente / so it be your wille,	642
and asks him to make a private room for them.	In the ende of the ship / for to ordeyne	
	An honest place / and pryuee / for vs tweyne.	644

<sup>1</sup> MS. and and.

(93)

<p>"It is nat / as I hope / your entente<sup>1</sup>          In open sighte of folk / do <i>wit</i>h me so :          Hard were it make me / ther-to consente,          ffor þat / a greet encrees were of my wo ;          Yit leuer were it me / my lyf forgo.          A pryuee place, as I seide / purueye          ffor vs / þat folk see nat / how we foleye."</p>	<p>645 [leaf 48]          He cannot mean          to force her before          his men.</p> <p>649</p> <p>651</p>
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(94)

<p>¶ He in the ship / where as was his plesance,          A place ordeyned / curtynd aboute,          In-to the which / with heuy contenance,          Whyles he speek<sup>t</sup> with his meynee <i>wit</i>houte,          Shee entred hath / and anoon gan to loute          To god / right on hir knees she hir prayeere          Made / as I to yow shal rehercen heere :</p>	<p>652 The Shipman          makes a curtained          room.</p> <p>656</p> <p>658</p>
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(95)

<p>¶ "O god, our Lord, Ihesu, our Saueour,          þat fro my youthe / haast kept me to this day,          Curteys Ihesu / me keepe now this hour          ffrom al pollucioñ / so þat y may,          With herte cleene / in this woful affray,          My soule yilde to thy deitee ;          Mercyful lord / of this byseeche y thee !"</p>	<p>659 The Emperess          prays to God to            save her from          pollution.</p> <p>663</p> <p>665</p>
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(96)

<p>Nat endid was hire orison vnnethes,          But swich a tempest / aroos in the See,          þat the ship brast / and there took hire dethes          They þat ther in weren / the hool meynee,          Sauf onoly this maistir shipman / and shee :          By oon of the bordes / shee faste hire heeld,          Which from hire deeth was hire deffense &amp; sheeld,</p>	<p>666 [leaf 42, back]          A tempest splits          the ship in two.</p> <p>670 All the crew          perish, but she          and the Shipman.</p> <p>672</p>
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<sup>1</sup> In margin, later scribble: A nunny . . A nunn . . hou . .  
 In the . . In the . . In the . . In.

164 XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE ENTERS A NUNNERY. HEALS THE SICK.

(97)

The Emperess is carried safely to land.	And broghte hire vp / vn-to the land sauffy.	673
The Shipman is also saved.	To an othir bord / this maister shipman Eek claf / and was sauf / this fil wondirly : Many maistries our lord god do can ; And þat this lady, this noble womman	677
	Was sauf / this maistir shipman kneew no deel, Ne shee / þat he fortunad had so weel.	679

(98)

The Emperess goes into a Nunnery,	¶ Of this shipman / speke y no more as now ; But this lady / vn-to a Nonnerie þat was but there faste by / hir drow, Wher the ladyes / of hir conpaignie Were ful glad, & of hir genterie	680
	Receyued hire / al thogh þat no notice They hadde / of hire estat of Emperice.	684 686

(99)

[leaf 43]  and, by God's grace, heals sick folk.	And there abood shee / a long tymes space In holy lyf / and vertuous clenness ; Vn-to whom god yaf / and shoop swich a grace, þat shee kowde hele folk' of hir seeknesse, What so it were / and thidir gan hem dresse	687  691
	ffrom euery part / and euery Contree, They þat felten any infirmittee. <sup>1</sup>	693

(100)

Her cursed brother-in-law  is now a leper.	Than shoop it / he þat to the Emperour Was brothir / which this lady on a tree By hire heer vp heeng / þat cursid traitour, Mirour of malice and iniquitee, As foul a leepre was / as mighte be :	694  698
	Lo, thogh god him / to wreke a whyle abyde, The fals and wikkid, qwytith he sum tyde.	700

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble in margin : 'Righte welle . . Robarte . . Robarte . . ff hrrmmm.'

Hoecel. of Wife (Quar. II)

XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. HER 4 BETRAYERS ARE ALL DISEASD. 165

(101)

The knyght eek which the Erles doghtir slow—	701	The false knight who kild the Earl's daughter
The Emperice & shee / bothe sleepynge,		
As I before told haue / vn-to yow—		
Was blynd and deaf / and also the tremblynge	705	is blind, deaf, and palsied.
Of palesie / sore gan him wrynge :		
No force how sore / swich a wreeche smerte,		
That to wommen / so cruel is of herte.	707	

(102)

¶ The thief / which to the maistir of the ship	708	[leaf 42, back]
Betrayed themperice, his lady, als		The thief-servant
ffrom harm ne greef / kowde nat make a skip—		
God sheelde he sholde / he þat was so fals		
To hire / þat from the roop[e] kepte his hals—	712	
Potagre and gowty / & halt he was eek,		is gouty and lame.
And was in othir sundry wyse seek.	714	

(103)

¶ The Shipman had also the franesie,	715	The Shipman has the frenzy.
þat with this Emperice / hadde ment		
ffullillid his foul lust of aduoutrie,		
Which was in him / ful hoot and ful feruent :		
See how aH hem / þat to this Innocent,	719	
This noble lady / had y-doon greuance,		
Our lord god qwitte / with strooke of vengeance.	721	

(104)

¶ Yee men, whos vsage is, wommen to greeue,	722	God's vengeance falls on deceivers of women.
And falsely deceyue hem and bytraye,		
No wondir is / thogh yee mis happe & cheeue :		
God qwyte yow wole / and your wages paye		
In swich[e] wyse / þat it yow shal affraye.	726	
Let goddes wreches hens-foorth yow miroure,		
ffor, but if yee do / yee shul bye it soure.	728	

(105)

[leaf 44]	¶ Now to the Emperour, tornē wole y,	729
When the Em- peror hears of the Holy Woman	Which, whan he herde / þat in an Abbeye Of Nonnes / was a womman so holy, And ther-to so konnyng, he herd[e] seye, That voide kowde shee / and dryue awaye	733
who heals all sicknesses,	Seeknesses all / of what kynde or nature They weren / and hem hele wel & cure,	735

(106)

he bids his leprous brother go with him to her,	Right thus vn-to his brothir seide he tho :	736
and get cured.	“ To this holy womman / best is þat we, As faste as we may make vs reedy, go, Syn, so good / and so gracious is shee, þat of thy leepre / shee may cure thee.”	740
	This was assentid / they hem haaste & hye In what they may / vn-to þat Nonnerie.	742

(107)

The Abbess and Convent meet the Emperour,	Knownen vn-to thabbesse & hir Couent	743
	How þat the Emperour / was ny comynge, Ageyn him in processioñ / arn they went, Hir seruice ful deuoutly syngynge,	747
	And dide al / þat was to swich cas longynge. And whan he in thabbeye was alight, Thus of thabbesse / he axid anon right :	749

(108)

[leaf 44, back]	“ Is ther any swich womman in this hous, As folkes hele can of hir seeknesse? Men seyn, heere is a womman merueillous : Shal it be fownden soo ” / he seide, “ Abbesse ? ”	754
and tell him they have a Woman of unequall power.	¶ And shee answerde / “ Sire, in soothfastnesse A good womman / dwellynge is / with vs heere, Which in vertu / we knowen noon hir peere.”	756

(109)

She dide hir come anoon / to his presence ;	757	The Empress comes veild to the Emperor,
But with hir veil / hir face hid had shee,		
To been vnknowe / and dide him reuerence,		
As longid vn-to his hy Dignitee.		
And right as blyue / of hire axid he,	761	
" Can yee my brothir / of his maladie		
Of leepre, cure, and of meselrie ?	763	

(110)

" If þat yee can / now tell on, y yow preye,	764	
ffor your labour / ful wel qwyte wole y."		
But or þat shee / aght wolde answere & seye,		
She caste hir look about[en] / and there sy		sees his leproous brother,
The Emperoures brothir stande by,	768	
þat leepre was / and eek' tho othir three		
þat had hir doon so greet aduersitee,	770	

(111)

That is to seyn / the knyght, theef, and shipman ;	771	[leaf 45] and her other three betrayers,
And thanne shee spak' / and seide in this wyse :		
" Sire / noon þat is heere, y cure can ;		and says she cannot cure them
I may nat take vp-on me þat emprise—		
Ther-to may nat my konnyng souffyse—	775	
But if þat they / an open shrifte make		unless they con- fess their sina.
Of hire offenses dirke & synnes blake."	777	

(112)

¶ To his brothir / than spak' this Emperour :	778	The Emperor bids his brother con- fess his guilt.
" Among aȝ vs / thee openly confesse ;		
Spare nat to deskeuere thyn errour,		
Syn þat thow ther-by / maist, of thy seeknesse		
Cured be / telle out al thy wikkidnesse ;	782	
Be nat abassht / it manly is to synne,		¶ humanitas est peccare, &c <sup>1</sup>
But feendly is / longe lye ther-ynne."	784	

<sup>1</sup> Later, above this : Iohn.



168 XXII. JERESLAUS'S WIFE. THE EMPEROR'S BROTHER TRICKS HIM.

(113)

The Brother makes a sham confession,	ffor forme / a confessiō made he,	785
	Swich as it was / but how the Emperice,	
	his lordes wyf / he heeng vp-on a tree	
but not of his sin against the Empress.	By hire heer / tolde he nat / þat cursid vice,	
	ffor torne it sholde him / in-to preiudice	789
	And harm also / deskeuere kepte he noghit,	
	Yit aftirward / he ther-to was y-broghit.	791

(114)

[leaf 45, back]	Whan þat his lewde shrifte was y-do,	792
	“Sire,” quod shee / “laboure y sholde in veyn,	
	If aghit I leide / your brothir vn-to,	
She says he has not made full shrift.	ffor he maad haath / noon hool[e] shrifte, ne pleyn.”	
	¶ This Emperour vn-to him spak' ageyn :	796
	“Woost thow nat weel / thow art a foul mesel ?	
	Telle out, let see / shryue thee cleene and wel,	798

(115)

	“Or truste me weel / for þat encheson)	799
	Thow voide shalt / out of my compaignie.”	
The Brother then says he can't do it unless the Emper' 'll forgive him.	¶ “O Lord” he seide / “but if your pardon	
	Yee me promette / I dar nat specifie	
	O word of my gilt / I yow mercy crye.”	803
	¶ Quod themperour / “what, haast thow agilt me ?”	
	¶ “Certes, right greuously / my lord,” seide he.	805

(116)

	¶ “Now,” quod the Emperour / “and haast thow so ?”	
	And of the Emperice / he thoghite nat,	807
	But weenyngs / shee many a day ago,	
	Deed had been / seide / “what offense is that ?	
The Emperor promises to pardon him.	Be nat aferd / but teH on plein & plat,	810
	ffor what so þat it be / y foryeue al ;	
	Truste wel / þat y seye, y holde shal.” <sup>1</sup>	812

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at foot, c. 1500, ‘per me wylliam . . per me me wylliam Hopkins.’

(117)

Ther-with, al was his brothir herted weel :	813	[leaf 46]
Al how the Emperice had he betrayed,		The Emperor's
Before hem aH / he tolde out euerydeel ;		brother confesses
Where-of / the Emperour was sore affrayed.		his sin against the
His brothres reward / had nat been vnpayed,	817	Empress.
Nad promesse of the Emperour him bownde		
To pardoñ / for which wo was him þat stownde ;	819	

(118)

Almoost he was / out of him self certeyn ;—	820	The Emperor is
So seith the book' / and þat was no meruailH.		almost beside
What lord is þat / if swich a word sodeyn		himself,
To him cam of his wyf / whos gouernailH		
Was hires lyk' / but ny to sholde him failH	824	
his wit and his good disposicion)		
ffor the sodeyn woful impression) ?	826	

(119)

ffor falle anoon sholde in his remembrance	827	remembering his
Hir vertuous manere and wommanhede,		wife's virtue and
hir beautee / shap / good cheere & daliance :		beauty,
Al this considered / withouten drede,		
Out of the weye of ioie / him wolde lede,	831	
The mis / of so vertuous a persone ;		
And yit nat for þat encheson) allone : <sup>1</sup>	833	

(120)

But also the vnkyndely treson	834	[leaf 46, back]
Of his brothir / þat him to him had qwit		and his brother's
So falsely / me thynkith by reson)		unnatural treason.
Stike right ny / vn-to his herte oghte it,		
And causen him / ful many an heuy fit ;	838	
But nathelees / wit axith, & prudence,		
Al thyng þat fallith / take in pacience.	840	

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble in margin : 'spindlye (?) Rslm . . Rv 2 (?) be that . . he that my . . he that in youth no verke will vse, all . . thomas . . dden . . god . . y, d, d d M c. c' . . d . . d . . ij daye . And . . iij D . . hud . . h . . m, m.'

170 XXII. JERESL'S WIFE. THE FALSE KNIGHT ALSO CONFESSES HIS SIN.

(121)

¶ Now to my purpos / themperour tho spak' 841  
To his brothir / and thus he to him seide:  
The Emperor curses his brother, " Thow cursid wrecche / thow demoniak'!  
¶at our lord god / which for vs alle deide,  
The strook of his vengeance / vp-on thee leide, 845  
No wondir is / had y this befor wist,  
and said he'd Thy body sholde han the grownd swept & kist; 847

(122)

¶ And ther-to eek / as sharp[e] punisshement 848  
As ¶at dyuyse ther kowde any wight,  
Thow sholdest han y-preeued by the sent;  
But holde wole y / ¶at y thee haue hight."  
Then the Knight ¶ And thanne confesse him / began the knyght 852  
¶at the Erles doghtir slow / "as shee sleep,"—  
lo, thus he seide / takith now good keep<sup>1</sup>— 854

(123)

[leaf 47] ¶ " Notice noon," seide he, " ne knowlechyng 855  
haue y of ¶at lady / ne who it is,  
But as my lord the Erl rood on huntynge  
In a foreste ones / wel woot y this,  
confesses that his lord, the Earl, found a lady hanging by her hair,  
A fair lady he fond hangynge Iwis 859  
On a tree by hire heer / and of pitee  
And routhe meued / hire adoun took' he, 861

(124)

¶ And to his Castel / ~~wit~~ him hire he ladde, 862  
And the charge / bytook' to hire, and cure,  
and put her in charge of his daughter.  
To keepe a yong Doghtir / which ¶at he hadde,  
Hire to teche and to lerne norture.  
But to me shoop ther / a mis-aenture; 866  
The Knight tried to lie with her.  
I bisyed me / to haue by hire leyn;  
And al my labour / ydil was and weyn. 868

<sup>1</sup> Later, at foot: 'Thomas Onslor . . . mosta.'

(125)

“ffor any craft / þat euere kowde y do,	869	And when she refused,
To me shee wolde assente by no way ;		
I kowde in no wyse / brynge hire ther-to ;		
hire answer was euere oon / & that was ‘nay,’	873	
Which was nothyng / vn-to my lust and pay ;		
Wherfore meued was y, nat a lyte,		
But ful greetly / and hire y thoghte qwyte, <sup>1</sup>	875	

(126)

“ And in hir bed / as shee lay on a nyght,	876	[leaf 47, back]
This yonge maide / and shee sleepynge faste,		
I kilde the chyld / and ther-with, foorth-right		
The bloody knyf / in-to the hand y thraste		
Of the lady / for þat men sholde caste	880	he kild the Earl's child, and put the bloody knife in the Lady's hand,
And suppose / how þat no wight but shee		
Mighte of this slaghtre and murdre gilty be,	882	

(127)

“ And thens / my lord maade hire voyde anoon ;	883	and she was sent away.
But wher shee becam / am y nat priuee ; <sup>2</sup>		
God woot / þat knowleche / haue y ther-of noon.”		
¶ Than spak the theef / “ y noot whom meene yee,		
But a lady of excellent beautee	887	Then the Thieff-servant confesses
Allone and sôul / cam by the way rydyng,		
Whan for my gilt / y led was to hangyng ;	889	

(128)

“ And whan þat this lady benigne & good,	890	how the Lady
Had hir look toward me cast, and espyed		
from a-fer / in what mescheef þat y stood,		
hire herte anoon / of pitee was applyed,		
Me to socoure and helpe / and hath hire hyed	894	
Vn-to the place / wher deed sholde y be,		
And payde for my lyf / and saued me ;	896	rescued him from death.

<sup>1</sup> In margin, by a later hand, c. 1500 :  
 ‘of all good thynges the worlde brought forth,  
 a faithfull frende ys thyng moste worthe’ . . .  
 ‘gouernor.’ (later still) ‘I shall the thynges the world brought  
 forth’ . . . ‘y’ . . . ‘H. Pershe’ (?) <sup>2</sup> ‘lay’ (later, at side).

172 JERESL'S WIFE. THE SHIPMAN CONFESSES HIS SIN AGAINST HER.

(129)

[leaf 48]	“ And aftirward, I, as a fals traitour Ageyn hir gentillesse and hy bontee, To a shipman / which was a foul lecchour, Betrayed hire / and to his Contree him shoop lede hire / this man delauce, And fer in-to the See y saw hem saitt ; But what fil aftir / woot y nat sanz faitt.”	897    901  903
And he betrayd her to a lecherous Shipman, who said off with her.		

(130)

The Shipman confesses that he did so,	¶ “ Swich a fair lady, certain y receyued In-to my ship ” / seide the Shipman tho, “ And thoghite haue hire deffoulid & deceyued Amiddes the See / but shee preide so To god / þat my desyr was y put fro ; I mighte nat aheeue my purpoos. Whan shee had preid / an hidous storm aroos,	904    908  910
but a storm		

(131)

	“ And shortly / of this for to speke and telle, The wynd ful sore / in the sail bleew & haf, And the wawes began to bolne & swelle, And our taklynge brast / and the ship claf In two / of seurtee loste y ny the staf ; Vndir the watir / wenten euerychone ; My self except / knowe I no sauf persone.	911    915  917
clafe his ship,		
and he alone		

(132)

[leaf 48, back]	“ By a bord of the ship, heeld y me faste ; And as þat my fortune shoop þat tyde, The wawes me sauf vp-on the land caste.” ¶ This Emperice list no lengere hyde What þat shee was / but spak' / and sundel cryde <sup>1</sup> On hy / and to hem seide in this maneere : “ Now been yee cleene shryuen / freendes deere ;	918    922  924
escaped to land.		
The Emperice says the four guilty men are now clean shriven.		

<sup>1</sup> In margin, later : ‘ Iohn bo . . b b.’

(133)

“Now shul yee aȝ haue of me medecyne.”	925	
Shee dide hire art / & helid euery wight		The Empress then cures the 4 offenders,
Of his seeknesse / & voidid al his pyne ;		
And from hire heed / shee hath hir veil y-plitht,		and lifts her veil.
And hem hir face shewid anoon right.	929	
And as swythe / as the Emperour hir sy,		The Emperour sees she's his wife,
ȝat shee his wyf was / kneew he verraily ;	931	

(134)

And withoute delay / to hire he sterte,	932	
And hire embraced in his armes tweyne,		
And kiste hire often / with vnfeyned herte ;		kisses her, and weeps for joy.
But fro weepyng / he kowde him nat restreine,		
Thogh it nat causid were of greef & peyne,	936	
But of the inward ioie which ȝat stownde		
He took, by-cause he had his wyfe y-fownde.	938	

(135)

¶ O / many a wrecche is in this lond, y weene /	939	[leaf 49]
ȝat thogh his wyf lengere had been him fro,		(Many a wretch now would be sorry to find his wife again.)
No kus / but if it had been of the spleene,		
Shee sholde han had / & forthermore also,		
ffyndyng of hire / had been to him but wo,	943	
ffor him wolde han thoghȝt ȝat swich a fyndyng,		
To los sholde han him torned, and harmyng.	945	

(136)

No force of ȝat / my tale I now thus eende :	946	
Hoom vn-to his Paleys this Emperour		The Emperour took his wife home, and they liud happily till they died.
And his good lady themperice weende,		
And lyueden in ioie and hy honour		
Til ȝat the tyme of deeth cam, and his hour,	950	
Which ȝat no wight eschue may, ne flee ;		
And whan god list / also dye shul we.	952	

Explicit fabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

My friend came	<p><b>M</b>y freend, aftir, I trowe, a wike or two      1</p> <p>That this tale endid was / hoom to me cam,</p> <p>And seide / "Thomas / hastow almost do?</p> <p>To see thy werk' / hidir comen y am."</p> <p>My tale anoon y fette / and he it nam      5</p>
and lookt thro' this tale,	<p>In-to his hand / and it al ouersy ;</p> <p>And aftirward / he seide thus therby :      7</p>

(2)

[leaf 49, back] and then askt me	<p>¶ "Thomas, it is wel vn-to my lykyng ;      8</p> <p>But is ther aght þat thow purposist seye</p> <p>More on this tale?" ¶ "nay, my freend / no thyng."</p> <p>"Thomas / heere is a greet substance aweye :</p>
where the Mora- lizing was.	<p>Where is the moralizynge / y yow preye,      12</p> <p>Bycome heere-of / was ther noon in the book'</p> <p>Out of the which / þat thow this tale took'?"      14</p>

(3)

I'd never seen one.	<p>¶ "No certes, freend / ther-in ne was ther noon."      15</p> <p>"Sikirly, Thomas / there-of I meruailH ;</p>
So my friend went home,	<p>Hoom wole y walke / and retourne anoon ;</p> <p>Nat spare wole y / for so smal trauailH,</p> <p>And looke in my book' / there y shal nat failH      19</p> <p>To fynde it / of þat tale it is parcel,</p> <p>ffor y seen haue it ofte / &amp; knowe it wel."      21</p>

(4)

fetcit it, and left it with me.	<p>He cam ther-with / and it vn-to me redde,      22</p> <p>Leuyng it with me / &amp; hoom wente ageyn ;</p> <p>And to this moralizynge I me spedde,</p>
And I at once Englisht it in prose.	<p>In prose wrytyng it / hoomly and pleyn,</p> <p>ffor he conseillid me / do so / certeyn ;      26</p> <p>And lo / in this wyse and maneere it seith,</p> <p>Which to þat tale is good be knyht, in feith :      28</p>

¶ *Hic incipit moralizacio.*

[leaf 50]

**T**his Emperour þat y spak' of aboue / is our lord Ihesu  
 Cryst / his wyf / is the soule; Themperoures  
 brothir is man / to whom god committed and bytook'  
 the cure and the charge of his Empire / þat is to seyn,  
 of his body / & nathelees principally of the soule / but  
 the wrecchid flessĥ ful often sythe stireth and excitith  
 the soule vn-to synne / but the soule þat entierly loueth  
 god abouen alle thynges / makith euere resistance vn-to  
 synne / and takith his mightes & powers / þat is to  
 seye, reson / wil / intellect and conscience, & makith  
 swich inobedient flessĥ to the spirit, to been enprisoned  
 in the prison of penance / til it obeye in all thynges to  
 reson. ¶ Themperour, þat is to seye, Cryst, is to come  
 to the synnere / & thanne the flessĥ cryeth, axynge  
 grace / and as often as he hath mercy / he hath hope /  
 & for trust & hope of mercy / the rather wole he synne.  
 ¶ Ageyn swiche folk spekith holy scripture in this  
 wyse: ¶ "Accursid is or be þat man þat synneth in  
 hope" / to which the soule is often sythe enclnyed /  
 shee letith the flessĥ goon out of the prison of penance /  
 shee wasshith & pougith the flessĥ of the <sup>1</sup>filthes of  
 synne / clothyng it with goode vertues, & makyngs it  
 ascende / and worthe vp-on the steede of charitee / to  
 ryde in good wirkes and deedes / þat it may meete with  
 god in the holy day of Estren / but alas and wele-  
 away / often sythe the synnere offendith and trespaceth  
 by the way in þat holy tyme / where-of the hert rysith /  
 þat is to seyn, Delectacion of synne / and all the wittes  
 rennen afir synne / and the howndes / þat is to seyn,  
 the wikkid thoghites, alway berken, & maken swich  
 instigacioñ / þat man, þat is to seyn, the flessĥ and the  
 soule, been to-gidere left with-uten any vertu / and

The Emperour is  
 Christ; his  
 brother, man;  
 the Empire,  
 man's body and  
 soul.

The soul resists  
 the flesh.

The flesh cries  
 for mercy,

and then sins  
 again.

¶ *Maledictus*  
*homo qui peccat*  
*in spe.*

[leaf 50, back]

The hounds are  
 wicked thoughts.



? a1430 (c1422)

the flessñ apparceyunge þat / solicitith and bysyetth  
 hire / stiryng the ful noble soule, which is Crystes  
 spowse / vn-to synne / but nathelees the soule þat is  
 wel beloued of god, and vn-to Cryst weddid & oned,  
 wole nat forsake god and consente to synne / wherfore  
 the wrecchid flessñ despoillith often and robbith the  
 soule of hir clothes / þat is to seyn, goode vertues / and  
 hire hongith on an ook<sup>1</sup> / þat is to seyn, worldly delyt  
 & delectacion) / by the heeres / þat is to seyn / by  
 wikkid concupiscences and desires, til the Erl / þat is to  
 seyn, tle<sup>1</sup> prechour or discreet confessour, hunte in the  
 foreste of this world with vertuou sarmonyng &  
 prechyng / yeuyng Conseil and reed to Do goode  
 and vertuou dedes / berkyng / þat is to seyn, pro-  
 nouncyng the wordes of holy scripture / and thus the  
 discreet Confessour or prechour ledith the lady / þat is  
 to meene, the soule / vn-to the hows of holy chirche /  
 for to teche & norisshe the maiden / þat is to seyn / to  
 hele the conscience with the wirkes of mercy. ¶ The  
 Erl, before his bed hath a laumpe / þat is to seyn, the  
 discreet confessour, prelat or prechour / hath alway  
 befor the yen of his herte the laumpe of holy scripture /  
 in which he seeth the griefs and annoyes of the soule,  
 & tho thynges eek<sup>1</sup> þat ther-to been profitable and  
 necessarie / þat is to seyn / drawyng or plukkyng  
 out of it / vices / and puttyng or ympyng in it  
 vertues. ¶ The Styward þat excited and stired hire to  
 synne / certain, þat is pryde of lyf / which is the  
 Styward of this world / by whom many folk been  
 deceyued and begyled / but the soule of god beloued /  
 wole nat consente to pryde / what<sup>2</sup> dooth therefore  
 worldly pryde / certain, it takith the knyf of auarice /  
 whan shee profrith a man a purs ful of moneye / cast-  
 yng it befor the yen of a man / and so shee sleeth  
 the maiden, þat is to seyn, good conscience / where-of

The flesh strips the soul of her clothes or virtues, and hangs her on an oak by foul desires.

[1 leaf 51] The Earl hunting is the Preacher,

who leads the soul to Holy Church.

The Earl's lamp is that of Holy Scripture.

The bad Steward is the pride of life,

[2 leaf 51, back 2]

which slays the maiden, Conscience.

<sup>3</sup> At top, later: "Munera excant oculos Iudicium."

it is writen thus: ¶ "Yiftes or meede blynden the Iuges yen / and peruerten wyse men /" so þat equitee or euenehede mighte nat entre / but stood al a-fer / and the iugement was torned vp so doun / Swiche been they þat been, or oghte been, put out of the Chirches lappe or bosom. ¶ The lady rood soul or allone / and apparceyunge a man led to the galwes, &c / This man may be led to his deeth by deedly synne wirkyng / let vs therfore do / as dide þat lady / shee smoot hir hors with hir spores / so sholde we do / we sholden prikke our flessħ with the spores of penance / and helpe and socoure our neighburgħ in his necessitee, nat onoly with goodes temporel / but also with goodes spirituel. ¶ Where-of seith Salomon: ¶ "wo is þat man þat lyth soul in synne / & hath no wight to be holpen by or conforted." ¶ O hye thee, man, hye thee / areise or rere vp thyn neighburgħ <sup>1</sup>þat is doun faħ / for the brothir þat is holpen of his brothir is lyk a strong or sad Citee / "who so onoly yeueth cold watir to his brothir to drynke / he shal nat leese his meede" / but manye vnkynde folk ther been, as was the theef þat betrayed his lady aftir shee had saued him from his deeth / Some men yilden euel ageyn good to hem doon / where-of spekith ysaye thus: ¶ "wo be to them þat callen good euel / and euel good." ¶ The Maistir of the ship is the feend / by whom many folk been deceyued in the See / þat is to seyn, in this world / AH thynges been vanitee, seith Ecclesiastes / but the ship is broken as ofte as any wight cheesith wilful pouert / and he þat obeieith to his Prelat in all thynges for god / thanne hatith he the world and the concupiscence of it / It is impossible to plesse the world and god. ¶ The lady wente to the Abbeye / So torned the soule to holy lyf fro worldly tribulaciõs /

¶ Munera exccant oculos iudicum &c [Deut. xvi. 19].

The Thief led to the gallows, is man led to deeth by sin.

¶ Ve homini peccato iacenti &c

[1 leaf 52<sup>r</sup>]

¶ Scriptum est, Frater qui adiuuauerat a fratre &c

Ve illis qui dicunt bonum malum, & malum bonum. [Isaiah v. 20.] The Shipman is the Devil.

Ecclesiastes [1. 2]: Vanitas vanitatum &c

The Abbeye is a holy life.

<sup>2</sup> At top, later: "Item to wylliam harugh ffor my povnd of cheres [?] ij'."

[1 leaf 52, back]  
The soul can't be  
seen by Christ  
till all the senses  
are shriven.

wherthugh all the wittes by whiche the soule vexed  
was, and troubled / been infect with dyuerse seeknesses /  
as ye / by the concupiscence of yen / heerynge / by  
detraccion, <sup>1</sup>and so foorth / wherfore the soule may nat  
openly be seen of Cryst, hir spowse / til þat all the  
wittes be confessed openly / and thanne douteles the  
soule may be led to the ioie of paradys, to which he vs  
brynge, þat starf for our redempcion, amen.

¶ Explicit moralizatio,

?a1430 (?c1422) Book. ASM XXIII. (Dur. U)

& incipit ars btillissima sciendi mori ..  
Cum omnes homines naturaliter scire de-  
siderant & c' ..

Learn to Die.

(1)

Since all men  
desire knowledge,

Syn alle men naturelly desyre 1  
To konne / o. eterne sapience,  
O vniuersel Prince / Lord & Syre,  
Auctour of nature / in whos excellence  
Been hid alle the tresors of science, 5  
Makere of al / and þat al seest & woost,

I ask Thee, Lord,

This axe y thee / thow lord of mightes moost, 7

(2)

to open Thy  
treasure of  
wisdom to me.

Thy tresor of wisdam / & the konnyng 8  
Of seintes / opne thow to me, y preye,  
þat y ther-of / may haue a knowlechyng ;  
Enforme eek me / and vn-to me by-wreye—  
Syn thow of al science berst the key— 12  
Sotil matires right<sup>1</sup> profownde & greets,  
Of whiche / y feruently desire treta. 14

(3)

[leaf 53]

¶ "O sone myn / sauoure nat so hye, ¶ Sapiencia. 15  
But dreede / herkne / and y shal teche thee  
Thyng þat shal to thy soule fructife ;

<sup>1</sup> Sotile materes A (Ashburnham MS).

A chosen yifte shalt<sup>1</sup> thow haue of me ;  
 My lore / eternal lyf shal to thee be,  
 The dreede of god / which the begynnynge is ¶ *Inclitum sapientie timor domini.* 19 Wisdom says the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. (Pa. xvi. 10.)  
 Of wisdam / shalt thow lerne<sup>2</sup> / & it is this :

(4)

“ Now herkne a doctrine substancial, 22 She'll teach,  
 ¶ first, how Lerne Dye / telle wole y ; 1. how to learn to die ;  
 ¶ The .ij.<sup>de</sup> how þat a man lyue shal ; 2. how to live ;  
 ¶ The .iij.<sup>de</sup> how a man sacramentally 3. how to receive Wisdom ;  
 Receyue me shal / wel and worthyly ; 26  
 ¶ The .iiij.<sup>e</sup> how with an herte cleene & pure 4. how to love her.  
 That a man loue me shal and honure.” 28

(5)

¶ “ Tho thynges .iiij.<sup>or</sup> good lord, haue y euere ¶ *Discipulus* 30  
 Desired for to knowe / and hem to leere ;  
 Vn-to myn herte ther is nothyng leuere ;  
 A bettir thyng / can y nat wisshen heere ;  
 But tellith me this / this fayn wolde y heere 33  
 What may profyte the lore of dyyng, ¶ *Ad quid prodest hac doctrina &c.*  
 Syn deeth noon hauynge is / but a pryuyng? 35

(6)

“ ffor shee, man reueth of lyf the swetnesse.” 36 [leaf 53, back]  
 ¶ “ Sone, the art to lerne for to dye ¶ *Sapientia* 1. The art to learn how to die  
 Is to the soule an excellent swetnesse,  
 To which y rede / thow thyn herte applie ;  
 Ther is noon art / þat man can specifie 40  
 So profitable / ne worthy to be  
 Preferred artes all / as þat is shee. 42 is better than all other arts

(7)

“ To wite and knowe / þat man is mortel, 43  
 It is commune / vn-to folkes alle ;  
 þat man shal nat lyue ay heer / woot he wel ;  
 No trust at al / may in his herte falle,  
 That he eschape or flee may dethes galle, 47

<sup>1</sup> shalt A, om. D.

<sup>2</sup> leere A.

? a 1430 (? c 1422)

But fewe þat can die / shalt thow seen ;  
It is the yifte of god / best þat may been. 49

(8)

It is to have heart  
and soul ready  
when death  
comes.

“ To lerne for to die / is to han ay 50

Bothe herte and soule / redy hens to go,  
That whan deeth cometh / for to cacche hir pray,  
Man rype be / the lyf to twynne fro,  
And hire to take / and receyue also 54

As he that the comynge of his felawe  
Desirith / and is ther-of<sup>1</sup> glad & fawe. 56

(9)

[leaf 54]  
Many take no  
thought of Death,

“ But more harm is / ful many oon shalt thow fynde,  
þat ageyn deeth / maken no purueance ; 58

Hem lothen / deeth for to haue in hir mynde ;  
þat thoghþit / they holden thoghþit of ēncombrance ;  
worldly swetnesse / sleeth swich remembrance ; 61

And syn to die / nat lerned han they,  
firo the world twynne / they wolde in no way. 63

(10)

and when they  
die, they go to  
Hell.

“ They mochil of hir tyme / han despended 64

In synne / and for-þy / whan, vnwaarly, deeth  
Vp-on hem fallith / and they nat amendid,  
And shal from hem byreue wynd and breeth,  
ffor shee vnreedy fynt hem / whan shee sleeth / 68

To helle goon the soules miserable,  
There to dwelle in peyne perdurable. 70

(11)

Forsake your  
sins at once!

“ Deeth wolde han ofte a brydil put on thee, 71

And thee with hire / led away shee wolde,  
Nadde the hand of goddes mercy be.

Thow art ful<sup>2</sup> mochil / vn-to þat lord holde,  
þat, for thow wrappid were in synnes olde, 75

he spared thee / thy synnes now forsake,  
And vn-to my doctrine / thow thee take ! 77

<sup>1</sup> ther-of is A.

<sup>2</sup> right A.

(12)

"More to thee profyte shal my lore	78	[leaf 54, back]
Than chosen gold / or the bookes echone		Wisdom bids her
Of Philosophres / and for þat the more		Disciple
Feruently / sholde it stire thy persone		
Vndir sensible ensauple thee to one	82	
To god / and thee the better for to thewe,		
The misterie of my lore / y shal the shewe. <sup>1</sup>	84	

(13)

"Beholde now <sup>2</sup> the liknesse and figure	* inward A	85	suppose a dying
Of a man dyyng and talkyng with thee."			man talks to him,
¶ The disciple, of þat speeche took good cure,			
And in his conceit / bysyly soghte he,			
And ther-with-al / considere he gan, & see		89	
In him self put / the figure & liknesse			
Of a yong man of excellent fairnesse,		91	

(14)

Whom death so ny ransakid had, & soght,		92	
þat he withynne a whyle sholde dye.			
And for his soules helthe / had he right noght			a man who is not
disposid / al vnreedy hens to hye			ready for death.
Was he / and therefore he began to crye		96	
With lamentable vois / in this maneere,			
þat sorwe and pitee greet / was it to heere : <sup>3</sup>		98	

(15)

¶ "Environd han me, dethes waymentynges,	¶ Circumdederunt me gentes mortis, &c'	[leaf 55]
Sorwes of helle han conpaced me ;		'The pains of
Allas, eternal <sup>4</sup> god ! .o. kyng of kynges,	* eterne	Hell compass me.
Wher-to was y born / in this world to be ;		
O. allas / why in my natiuitee		103

<sup>1</sup> In the Ashburnham MS the inside double-leaf of the next quire has been sewn up as the outside of the other, so that stanzas 19-24 here come before stanzas 13-18. In like wise, stanzas 25-30 here come in the Ashburnh. MS. after stanzas 31-36 here.

<sup>3</sup> In margin, later, † about 1500,

Before thou pretend any evill in thy harte,	} quod
Remember the end when thou shalt departe,	

} Carter.

Nadde I perissid ? o, the begynnyng  
Of my lyf was with sorwe & with weepyng, 105

(16)

“ And now myn ende comth / hens moot y go 106  
With sorwe / waylyng and greet heuynesse.

Death's presence O. deeth, thy mynde is full of bittir wo ;  
Vn to an herte wont vn-to gladnesse,  
And norissid in delicat swetnesse, 110

is horrible to me. Horrible is thy presence / and ful greeuable  
To him þat vong is / strong and prosperable. 112

(17)

“ Litol wende y so soone to han deid : 113

O cruel deeth / thy comyng is sodeyn ;  
fful vnwaar was y / of thy theefly breid ;  
Thow haast as in awayt / vp-on me leyn ;  
Thy comyng vn-to me / was<sup>1</sup> vncerteyn ; 117

But I cannot escape it. Thow haast vp-on me stolen / and me bownde ;  
Eschape y may nat now / my mortel wownde. 119

(18)

[leaf 55, back] “ Thow me with thee drawist in yren cheynes, 120  
As a man dampned / wont is to be drawe  
To his torment / outrageous been my peynes.

A, now for sorwe / and fere of thee & awe,  
With handes clight / y crye / and wolde fawe 124  
Wite the place whidir for to flee ;

But swich oon / fynde can y noon / ne see.<sup>2</sup> 126

(19)

“ I looke on euery syde bisyly, 127

and no one to help me. But help is noon / help and confort been dede ;  
A vois horrible of deeth / sownyng heere y,  
þat seith me thus / which encessith my drede :  
' Thow dye shalt / reson noon / ne kynrede, 131

<sup>1</sup> Thyn hour was vn-to me ful—A.

<sup>2</sup> A. goes on with st. 31, p. 186: 'Or as an arwe shot out of a bowe,' the leaf being misplaced.

frendshipe / gold / ne noon othir richesse  
 May thee deliure / out of dethes duresse. 133

(20)

“Thyn eende is comen / comen is thyn eende, 134 My end is come.  
 It is decreed / ther is no resistance.’

lord god / shal y now die / and hennes weende?

Whethir not changed may be this sentence; Cannot my sent-  
 ence be changed?

O. lord, may it nat put been<sup>1</sup> in suspense? <sup>1</sup> be put A. 138

Shal y out of this world so soone go?

Allas / wole it noon othir be than so?<sup>2</sup> 140

(21)

“O deeth, o deeth, greet is thy crueltee! 141 [leaf 56]

Thyn office al to soodeynly doost thow.

Is ther no grace? lakkist thow pitee? O Death, hast  
 thou no pity?

Spare my youthe / of age rype ynow 144

To dye / am y nat yit / spare me now!<sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup> D adds ‘ynow.’

How cruel þat thow art / on me nat kythe!

Take me nat out of this world so swythe!” 147

(22)

¶ Whan the disciple this complaynte had herd, 148

He thoghþe al þat he spak<sup>1</sup> / nas but folie,

And in this wyse / <sup>4</sup>he hath<sup>4</sup> him answerd: <sup>4-4</sup> hath vn to A. The Disciple  
 answers the

¶ “Thy wordes, freend / withouten any lye, dying man:

þat thow haast but smal lerned / testife; 152

Euene to aþ / is dethes iugement;

Thurgh-out the world / strecchith hir paiement. 154

(23)

“Death / fauorable is to no<sup>5</sup> maner wight; <sup>5</sup> om. no A. 155 ‘Death has no

To aþ / hir self / shee delith equally;

Shee dredith hem nat / þat been of greet might,

Ne of the olde and yonge / hath no mercy;

mercy on old or  
 young.

<sup>2</sup> In margin, later, c. 1500:

Some desarve or they desyer / and yett they lacke	} quod Carter.
that they Requyre;	
Some desyre or they desarve / and yett the[y]	

gayne whylle other starve,



The ryche & poore folk' eek' certainly 159  
 She seith / shee sparith right noon estaat ;  
 Al þat lyf berith / with hir chek' is maat.<sup>1</sup> 161

(24)

[leaf 56, back] " Ful many a wight / in youthe takith shee, 162  
 It takes folk at all ages. And many <sup>2</sup>an othir eek'<sup>2</sup> in middil age, <sup>2-3</sup>oon also A.  
 And some nat / til they right olde be :  
 Wendist thow han been / at swich auantage  
 Do you think you only are to be spared ?' þat shee nat durste / han paid thes thy wage, 166  
 But only han thes spared & forborn,  
 And the prophetes deid han heer-beforn ?" 168

(25)

The supposed dying man says ¶ Than spak' thymage / answeyng in this wyse : 169  
 " Soothly thow art an heuy confortour ;  
 Thow vndirstandist me nat / as the wyse :  
 They þat continued han in hir errour,  
 Lyuynge in synne / vn-to hir dethes hour, 173  
 Worthy be dampned for þat they han wroght ;  
 And how ny deeth is / they ne dreede noght. 175

(26)

" Tho men ful blynde been, & bestial. 176  
 Of þat shal folwe / aftir this lyf present,  
 fforsighte / swiche folk' han noon / at al.  
 he doesn't lament Death's judgment, but his own unpreparedness. I nat bewaille dethes iugement ;  
 But this is al the cause of my torment ; 180  
 The harm of vndisposid deeth / y weepe ;  
 I am nat reedy / in the grownd to creepe, 182

<sup>1</sup> At foot of leaf 56, later, c. 1500 :

The brwett of eviff tonges / what woman can eschew ?  
 or who can let a fowle to wytt / the thinge that is vntrew :  
 quod Carter //

In margin of leaf 56 :

Since of a womans breestes I was fostered /  
 Dame Nature sayth / I sholde them Love / } quod  
 Why shold any man / ther-wyth by offended / } Carter //  
 In generally it is gevin from hym above /

(27)

"I keepe<sup>1</sup> nat / þat y shal hennes twyne, <sup>1 weepe A.</sup> 183 [leaf 57]  
 But of my dayes / I the harm bewaiþ,  
 fruytles past / sauf with bitter fruyt of synne ;  
 I wroghte in hem nothyng / þat mighte auaiþ  
 To soules helthe / y dide no trauaiþ 187 'I did nothing  
 To lyue wel / but lened to the staf health.  
 Of worldly lustes / to hem y me gaf. 189

(28)

"The way of trouthe y lefte / & drow to wronge ; 190  
 On me nat shoon the light of rightwisenesse ;  
 The sonne of intellect / nat in me spronge ;  
 y am weery<sup>2</sup> of my wroght wikkidnesse ; <sup>2 weery am A.</sup> But I am weery  
 y walkid haue, weyes of hardnesse 194 of ill-doing.  
 And of perdicion / nat kowde y knowe  
 The way of god / wikkid seed haue y sowe. 196

(29)

"Allas, what hath pryde profytid me, 197 Pride and riches  
 Or what am y bet / for riche richesse hepynge ? have past away  
 Ah they as a shadwe passid be,  
 And as a messenger faste rennynge, ¶ Transierunt omnia illa  
 And also / as a ship þat is sayllynge tamquam umbra preteri-  
 In the wawes / & floodes of the See, cito percurrens, & tam-  
 Whos kerfe nat fownden is / whan past is shee. 203 quam nauis, &c.

(30)

"Or as a brid / which in the eir þat fleeth,<sup>3</sup> 204 [leaf 57, back]  
 No preef<sup>4</sup> fownde is / of the cours of his flight ; like the course of  
 No man espie can it / ne it seeth, <sup>4 way A.</sup> a bird in the air,

<sup>3</sup> At top, in a later hand: "Post bellum auxilium: Ayde after the felde is already faught." In margin: "fortune not favoring, thinges not withowt highe consell and wisdom enterprised, have a very vnlucky ende; and contrarie thinges donne temerously, yf she favor, have right prosperous chaunce / example, 'Sirenus persian, a Captain' / What I speeke lyethe in myne owen powre / but how so the thinges as I do, shall ende or be taken, standethe in the pleasur of fortune & y<sup>e</sup> kinge."

Sauf with his wynges / the wynd softe & light  
 He betith / and cuttith their<sup>1</sup> / by<sup>2</sup> the might 208  
 Of swiche stiryng / & foorth he fleeth his way ;  
 And tookne aftir þat / no man see ther may. 210

(31)

or an arrow shot  
from a bow.

“ Or as an arwe / shot out of a bowe, 211  
 Twynneth the eir / which þat continually  
 Agayn is closyd / þat man may nat knowe  
 Where þat it paste / no wight the way sy :  
 Right so / syn þat y born was / fare haue y 215  
 Continuelly<sup>3</sup> / y stynted for to be, <sup>3</sup> Anoon rightes A.  
 And tokne of vertu / shewid noon in me. 217

(32)

My hope is like a  
lock of wool tost  
by the wind.

“ I am consumed in my wikkidnesse ; ¶ In malignitate pro-  
 Myn hope is / as it were a wolle-loke <sup>pria consumptus sum.</sup>  
 Which the wynd / vp reisith<sup>4</sup> / for his lightnesse, <sup>spes mea, &c)</sup>  
 Or small foom / þat desparlid is, and broke <sup>4</sup> blowe away A.  
 With tempest / or as with wynd waastith smoke, 222  
 Or as mynde of an oost / þat but a day  
 Abit / and aftir passith foorth his way. 224

(33)

[leaf 56]

My heart is  
heavy ; my eyes  
are dim.

“ ffor why my speeche is now in bittirnesse, 225  
 And my wordes / been ful of sorwe & wo ;  
 Myn herte is plunged deepe in heynesse,  
 Myn yen been al dymme and dirke also.  
 Who may me grante / þat y may be so 229  
 As I was / whan y beautee hadde, & strengthe,  
 And had beform me / many a dayes<sup>5</sup> lengthe, 231

<sup>5</sup> yeeres A.

(34)

“ In wiche y the harm mighte han seen beform, 232  
 þat now is on me fast / I yaf no charge  
 Of the good precious tyme / y haue it lorn ;  
 But as the worldly wynd / bleew in my barge,  
 ffoorth droof y ther-with / and leet goon at large 236

<sup>1</sup> their A (the air).

<sup>2</sup> with A.

- Al loos the brydil of concupiscence,  
And ageyn vertu / made y resistance.<sup>1</sup> 238
- (35)
- “ My dayes I despenite in vanitee ; 239  
Noon heede y tooke of hem / but leet hem passe,  
Nothyng considerynge hir precioustee,  
But heeld my self free born as a wyld asse 243  
Of thaftirclap / insighite had no man lasse ;  
I ouer blynd was / y nat sy ne dredde,  
With what wo / deeth wolde haaste me to bedde. 245
- (36)
- “ And now as fisshes been with hookes kaghit, 246 [leaf 58, back]  
And as þat briddes / been take in a snare,  
Deth hath me hent / eschape may y naghit ;  
This vnwaar woful hour / me makith bare  
Of my custumed ioie / and my welfare ; 250  
The tyme is past / the tyme is goon for ay ;  
No man reuoke / or calle ageyn it may. 252
- (37)
- “ So short was not the<sup>2</sup> tyme / þat is goon, \* þat A. 253  
But y, of goostly luces / & wynnynge,  
Aughte<sup>3</sup> haue in it purchaced many oon, \* Mighte A.  
Exceedynge in value / aft eerthly thynges  
Incomparably / but to his wynges 257  
The tyme hath take him / & no purueance  
There-in made I / my soule to auance. 259
- (38)
- “ Allas, I, caytif / for angwissh & sorwe, 260  
My teeres trikelen / by my cheekes down ;  
No salt watir / me needith begge or borwe ;
- <sup>1</sup> In margin, in a later hand : “ He lyveth so moche the easier, who to delightes was vsed neuer.” At foot : “ Quod caret alterna requie, durable non est.  
What thing restethe not now & then amonge,  
But still travyleth, cannot endure longe.”  
Below, in another hand : “ Be ytt knowen vnto aft men by these presentes that I, Wylliam Wyllon [?].”
- I gave reins to my lust.
- I held myself as free as a wild ass.
- But now Death has seizd me.
- I might have bought spiritual treasure, but didn't.
- Now I weep bitter tears,

	Myn yen flowen now in greet foysoun ;	
	Allas / this is a sharp conclusioun,	264
and mourn the time I've lost.	Thogh y the tyme past / compleyne & mourne ;	
	ffor al my care / wole it nat retourne. <sup>1</sup>	266
	(39)	
[leaf 59]	" O my lord god / how laach and negligent <sup>2</sup>	267
Why did I put off amendment?	Haue y been / why haue I put in delay	
	And tarynge myn amendement?	
	Wher-to haue y dissumuled / welaway	
	Allas / so many a fair and gracious day	271
	Haue y lost / & arn <sup>3</sup> from me goon & ronne, <sup>* be A.</sup>	
	þat mihte in hem / my soules helthe han wonne.	273
	(40)	
	" Myn hertes woful waymentacions,	274
	Who can hem telle / who can hem expresse ?	
	Now fallen on me accusacions	
	Wondirly thikke / of my wroght wikkidnesse.	
	In fleschly lust / and ydil bysynesse,	278
	Leet y <sup>4</sup> my dayes / dryue foorth and slippe, <sup>* I leet A.</sup>	
	And nat was beten / with penances whippe.	280
	(41)	
	" Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee ?	281
Why didn't I learn to die ?	O, why ne had y lerned for to die ?	
	Why was y nat ferd of goddes maugree ?	
	What eilid me / to bathe in swich folie ?	
	Why nadde reson / goten the maistrie	285
	Of me / why ? for my spirit was rebel,	
	And list nat vndirstonde / to do wel.	287

<sup>1</sup> At foot, in a later hand : " Love ys the occupacyon or busi-  
nes of ydell folkes, that have nothing eles to sette them selve  
on werke with-alle / Diogenes / Of wilde bestes, the backebyter  
is the worse ; Of tame bestes, the flaterer / Dio[genes]." At  
side : " Beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit,

Himself, by geving, receyveth a benefiche.  
Who geveth to a person worthie to have yt."

<sup>2</sup> In margin, in a later hand : " Diogenes being asked what  
was the moost miserable thinge in this worlde, answered, ' An  
aged man in extreme pouertie / "' At foot : " Vertuus and good  
men, the lyvelye and true ymage of god / Diogenes."

(42)

"O, alle yee þat heere been present,	288	[leaf 50, back]
Yee þat floure in Youthes lusty grennesse,		Ye who flourish in your youth,
And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent,		
And tyme couenable han / to redresse		
þat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse	292	
Offendid hath / considereth my miserie,		consider my misery.
The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie.	294	

(43)

"Let me be your ensauple and your mirour,	295	Let me be a warning to you.
Lest ye slippe in-to my plyt miserable.		
With God, despende of your youthe <sup>1</sup> the flour; <sup>1</sup> dayes A.		
If yee me folwe / in-to peril semblable,		
Yee entre shuln / to god yee yow enable;	299	
In holy wirkes your tyme occupie,		Do holy work while you've time.
And whyle it tyme is / vices mortifie.	301	

(44)

¶ "Allas, o youthe / how art thou fro me slipt!	302	
O. god eterne / y vn-to thee compleyne		<sup>2</sup> wrecchidnesse / in which þat A.
The wrecchidnesses / in whiche <sup>2</sup> y am clipt;		
Lost is my youthe / y smerte in euery veyne,		My youth is lost.
The gilt / þat wroght hath my synful careyne.	306	
O youthe / thy fresshennesse and iolitee		
Hatith thy soothes / be told vn-to <sup>3</sup> thee. <sup>4</sup>	308	
		<sup>3</sup> to be told to A.

(45)

"No lust had y to doon as y was taght,	309	[leaf 60]
Ther-of had y righ <sup>t</sup> greet desdeyn & hokir; <sup>6</sup>		<sup>5</sup> ful A.

<sup>4</sup> At foot, in a later hand: "11. Socrates being asked\* 'by what meanes a man myght optaine an onnest name & fame, 'To be,' quod he, 'A man in deede, as he desireth to be'/'

At side: "2. Socrates. Nothing owght to be desired of god in mennes prayers, but vnder this furme, and with thes wordes: 'Suche thinges as bee good for us,' withowte any further addi-cioun." . . . "Socrates: The best sauce in the worlde for meats is to be hungrye."

<sup>6</sup> At top, in a later hand: '2. Hokir, Lothesome' . . .

At foot: "8. Socrates said that soche as hadde well broken themselves to vertuus living and temperate dyet, did perceyve

\* 'asked' is crosst thro', 'demaunded' is written over it.

Good counsel I cared no more for than an old boot.	Whan men conseilid wel / y herde it naght :	
	Nat so moche / as by an old boote or cokir	
	Sette y ther-by / in-to myn hertes lokir	313
	Entre mighte / noon holsum disciplyne ;	
	No wil had y / to good conseil enclyne.	315
	(46)	
	“ Lord god, now / in a deep dych am y fah ;	316
Now I'm in the snare of Death.'	In-to the snare of deeth / entred am y ;	
	Bet had it been / than thus had it <sup>1</sup> befa <sup>h</sup> ,	<sup>1</sup> it had thus A.
	Neuere han be born of my modres body,	
	But there-in han perisshid vtirly,	320
	ffor y despente in pryde and in bobance	
	The tyme grantid <sup>2</sup> me / to do penance.”	<sup>2</sup> lent to A. 322
	(47)	
The Disciple says	¶ To which answerde the disciple tho :	323
	“ Lo / we die alle / and as watir we slyde	
	In-to the eerthe / which þat neuere mo	¶ Ecce, omnes morimur, & quasi aque dilabimur in terram &c
	Retourne shal / but on a sikir syde	
	We standen alle / for god nat wole hyde	327
‘Repent; ask mercy, and you'll have it.	His mercy fro man / who-so list it craue,	
	Be repentant / and mercy axe & haue.	329
	(48)	
[leaf 60, back]	“ God haastith nat / the gilt of man to wreke,	330
	But curteisly / abydith repentance.	<sup>3</sup> shal seye and A.
	Heere me now / what y shal to thee <sup>3</sup> speke :	
	ffor þat thow hast offendid / do penance ;	¶ Age penitentiam de transactis, & conuertere ad dom- inum.
Turn to God,	Torne vn-to god / with hertes obeissance ;	
	Axe him mercy / þat <sup>4</sup> is al merciabile,	<sup>4</sup> which A.
and be saved.'	And saued shalt thow been / it <sup>5</sup> is no fable.”	<sup>5</sup> this A. 336

& take of the same, bothe moche more pleasure and lesse paynes, then soche as, *with* all highe cure and diligence, did on every syde make provision to have all thinges of pleasure.”

At side : “Socrates. 14. As we do not put Images to making, but onely to soche workemen of whome we se some noumber of Images well-favordly and minonly [?] made a-fore ; So sholde we take vn[to] no persons ower frendship, but soche as we perfectly know to have tried [?] themselves faythefull and cervieable frende to other a-fore, to other folkes.”

(49)

¶ Thymage of deeth answerde anon to þat :  
 “ How spekist thou, man / shal y me repente,  
 Shal y me torne / o man, ne seest thou nat,  
 Ne takist thou noon heede ne entente  
 Of dethes angwishes / þat me tormente  
 And oppresen / so greuously and sharpe  
 That y not what to do / or thynke or carpe.

¶ *Quis est  
 hic sermo  
 quem loquer-  
 is? 'debeo  
 penitere;  
 debeo me  
 conuertere?'*  
*Nonne vides  
 angustias &c*

The supposed  
 dying man says

341

'My anguish is  
 so sharp, I know  
 not what to do.

343

(50)

“ As a partrich / þat with the hawk' is hent  
 And streyned with his clees / so is agast  
 þat his lyf ny from him is goon and wente :  
 Right so / my wit is cleene fro me past,  
 And in my mynde / is ther no thoght ne cast  
 Othir than serche a way / how deeth eschape  
 But y in veyn / ther-aftir looke and cape.<sup>1</sup>

¶ *Quemad-  
 modum per-  
 drix cum sub  
 vnguibus  
 aucipitris  
 mox discer-  
 penda com-  
 prinitur pre  
 angustia  
 mortis, quo-  
 dammodo  
 exanimis  
 redditur /  
 sic &c*  
 1 gape A.

My wite are gone.

(51)

“ Nat wole it be / for deeth me doun oppressith ; 351  
 The twynnyng of my lyf / ful bittir is,  
 þat hurtith me greuously / and distressith ;  
 fful holsum had it be<sup>2</sup> / to me or this, \* been A.  
 Penance<sup>3</sup> han doon / for þat y wroghte amis 355  
 Whyles my tyme / was in his rypnesse,  
 ffor þat had been / the way of sikirnesse ; 357

[leaf 61]

Death crushes  
 me.

(52)

“ But he þat late / to penance him takith,  
 Whethir he verrailly or feynngly  
 Repente / he noot / vncertain it him makith.  
 Wo is me / þat my lyf so synfully  
 I ledde / and to correcte it / lachil y ;  
 Ageyn my soules helthe haue y werreied,  
 þat for it haue no bettre purueied.

¶ *Qui autem  
 tarde penitencie  
 se committit /  
 dubius erit /  
 quia nescit  
 vtrum vere vel  
 ficte peniteat.*

Woe is me that I  
 led a sinful life!

362

364

(53)

¶ “ Allas, to longe hath be<sup>2</sup> the tarynge  
 And the delay of my correccioñ !

¶ *O longa  
 nimis protractio  
 emendacionis mee /*

Too long have I  
 put off

\* Altered to 'rePentaunce.' Penance A.



A good purpos / withoute begynnynge, propositum  
bonum sine  
inclinacione &c  
 Good wil / withouten operacion,  
 Good promesse / and noon execucioñ, 369  
 amending. ffoorth dryue amendes / fro morwe to morwe,  
 And neuere doon / þat causith al<sup>1</sup> my sorwe.<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>now A. 371  
 (54)

[leaf 61, back] "O morwe, morwe / thow haast me begilt! 372  
 O / whethir this miserie / nat excede  
 Alas, my gilt. Al worldly wrecchidnesse / allas, my gilt!

Wel worthy is it / þat myn herte bleede, 375  
 And with angwissñ and wo / me<sup>3</sup> fostre & feede. <sup>3</sup>him A.  
 See how my dayes att<sup>4</sup> / arn slipt me fro; <sup>4</sup>ny A.

30 years have I lost. xxx<sup>5</sup>. yeer of myn age / a-way been go. 378  
 (55)

"ful wrecchidly, god woot / y haue<sup>6</sup> hem lost, 379  
 And al myn owne self / is it to wyte; <sup>6</sup>haue I A.  
 So good a piler / was y neuere, or post

Vn-to my soule / as o day me delyte  
 I never was vertuous for a day. In vertu / or agñt wel to god me qwyte, 383  
 As þat y mighte haue doon or oghte;

By agñt y woot / y neuere aftir þat sogñte. 385  
 (56)

How I shall be shamed at Doomsday! "Lord god, how shamefully stande y shal 386  
 At the doom beforn thee and seintes aH,  
 Where y shal arted be to rekne of al

That y doon haue & left / whom shal y caH  
 To helpe me / o, how shal it befaH? 390  
 My torment and my wo / me haaste and hye,

Hens for to / twynne / as blyue shal y dye.<sup>6</sup> 392

<sup>2</sup> In margin, by a later hand :

"So[crates] 21. No kinde of Labore is a thing of shame,  
 But ydelnes evermore worthie of blame.

So[crates] 27. What ys a-bove owre reche,  
 We have no thing to do with all."

At foot: "So[crates] 28. This silver plate, and riche araye  
 Of purple hewe, dothe wonderous well  
 For desguing in a stage playe;  
 Owr lyff nedethe them not a dele /"

<sup>6</sup> Later scribble in margin: "Thomas, Pardy, I sayd yt not . . . O longa  
 nimis . . . P. Pr . . . r r r . . . prynn) . . . nng . . . d . . . Thomas &c."

(57)

- “ O now this hour / gretter<sup>1</sup> ioie & gladnesse 393 [leaf 62]  
 I wolde haue of a lital orisoun <sup>1 day more A.</sup> I'd rather now  
 By me seyde / with hertes deuout sadnesse, have said one  
 As the angelyk<sup>1</sup> salutacioun: prayer  
 Than y wolde haue / of many a milioun 397 than own millions  
 Of gold and siluer / foule haue y me born, of money.  
 And synfully / þat sy nat this befor. 399

(58)

- “ Whan y mighte haue it seen / than wolde y noight;  
 How many houres haue y lost / þat neuere 401  
 Retorne shuln / how mochil haue y wroght  
 Ageyn my self / my lust was to perseuere I followd vice,  
 In viciou lyf / & from it nat disseuere; 404 and left vertue.  
 I lefte þat good was, & necessarie  
 Vn-to my soule / and dide the contrarie. 406

(59)

- “ More than was neede or expedient, 407  
 Vn-to the help of many an othir wight I helpt others,  
 Entendid y / y was ful inprudent; not myself.  
 I tooke noon heede / to my self aright;  
 By soules profyt / sette y nat but light; 411  
 Whan tyme was / fynde kowde y no tyme,  
 Me to correcte / of myn offense and cryme.<sup>2</sup> 413

(60)

- But now feele y / þat vn-to the gretnesse 414 [leaf 62, back]  
 Of merites celestial / had been bet ¶ Vere nunc  
 My wittes han kept / with soules clennesse, ad magnitu- I ought to have  
 Than þat left / with herte corruptly set, dinem premi- cared for holy  
 And ageyn deedes vertuous y-whet / 418 orum plus things,  
 Helpe me mighte / any mannes preyere, michi costulisset and kept pure.  
 Thogh .xxx<sup>ti</sup>. yeer / he preid had for me heere. 420 cordis &c

<sup>2</sup> At foot, in a later hand: “So[crates] 30. Who-so eatethe drie breade with pleasure, the same nedethe no meate to hit; and to whome no maner of drinke comethe a-misse, the same requireth none other cuppe but soche as ys redye in the waye.”

(61)

¶ " O, herkneþ now / herkneþ now alle yee 421  
þat heere been / and seen my wrecchidnesse !  
The tyme as þat yee seen / now faillith me ;  
I begd my friends to give me some of their good deeds,  
My freendes preide y / þat they sum almesse  
Of thabundance of hir goostly richesse 425  
And wirkes goode / wolden to me dele  
In my greet neede / for my soules hele ; 427

(62)

¶ And eeke in releef and amendement 428  
but they said No. Of my giltes / but hire answer was ' nay ' ;  
They seiden, ' ther-to yeuen oure assent,  
Wole we nat in no maneere<sup>1</sup> way <sup>1 manere of A.</sup>  
Lest it vs and yow nat souffyse may.' 432  
I am destitute. On euery part / thus am y destitut ;  
ffynde can y no socour ne refut.<sup>2</sup> 434

(63)

[leaf 63] ¶ " O god benigne / o fadir merciable,<sup>3</sup> 435  
O God, have mercy on me!  
Beholde and reewe vp-on thy pacient !  
To me, thyn handwerke / be thow socourable !  
þat y greetly haue erred and mis-went,  
Me wel remembrith this tyme present. 439  
Allas / why stood y in myn owne light  
So foule / o. lord, me now<sup>4</sup> helpe of thy might ! 441  
<sup>4 now me</sup>

<sup>2</sup> At foot, in a later hand : " So[crates] 35. Scyence and conynge is the onely good thing of the world ; and contrarye-wyse, ignorance the onely evell thinge / "

<sup>3</sup> In later hands, at top : " O god benigne, o fader merciable. . . Oratio."

At side : " Thomas hecker haue Red aþ Thys boke . so haue now haue [? MS. som] of my filos done . . Thomas hecker haue Red aþ This boke. soo haue nott, haue not, haue of of. Herro . . . of Repentance with any good deed /

So[crates] 38. The begynninge ys half of the wholle.

44. Cælum non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.

Who runneth oversee ffrom place to place,  
Though he change aire, his minde is as yt was / "

(64)

- “ How grete richesches spirituel 442 I might have  
 And heuenely tresors / had y been wys, gathered heavenly  
 Mighte y han gadered / and nat dide a del. treasure, but  
 O good lord god / o lord of paradys, didn't.  
 fful leef to me now were / and of greet prys 446  
 Of satisfaccioun / the leeste deede  
 Right dereworthe / were it in this neede. 448

(65)

- “ O / now the leeste crommes / þat ther faH 449 Now, I can get  
 ffro the lordes bordes / and tables down, no crumb,  
 Refresshe wolden me ful wel with-aH,  
 But noon fynde y / of swich condicioun 453  
 þat yeue me wole any porcioun.  
 Y haue espyd / the frendshipe is ful streit  
 Of this world / it is mirour of deceit. 455

(66)

- ¶ “ Reewe eek on me, yee aH / and pitee haue ! 456 [leaf 6S, back]  
 And whyles your force and vigour may laste, Do you all, while  
 And tyme han eeke / or yee be ny your graue, your strength  
 In-to bernes of heuene gadereth faste laste, gather  
 Tresors celestial / þat at the<sup>1</sup> laste <sup>1</sup> atte A. 460 heavenly  
 Yee may receyue / whan þat yee shul twynne treasure.  
 ffrom hens / the blisse þat shal neuere blynne. 462

(67)

- “ And beeth nat voide of vertu, ne empty, 463  
 Whan þat the deeth / an othir day to yow  
 Approche shal / as yee may see þat y  
 Am voide of deedes vertuous right now.”  
 ¶ “ ffreend,” quod the disciple / “ y see wel ynow 467 The Disciple  
 Thy torment and thy greuous passioun,  
 Of which / myn herte hath greet compassioun ; 469

(68)

- “ And by almighty god / I thee coniure 470  
 þat thow me yeue reed / how me to gye, asks for advice  
 Lest þat heere-aftir / y,<sup>2</sup> par auenture, <sup>2</sup> I heer aftir A.  
 O 2

how to avoid the peril of death, unprepared.	In-to lyke peril / haaste may and hye, Of vndisposid sodein deeth / and drye The wo / which y considere / þat thee vexith, wherthurgħ / myn herte sore agrysid wexith." <sup>1</sup>	474  476
	(69)	
[leaf 64] The supposed dying man says 'Repent,  confess your sins, do amends for them, and give up vice.	¶ Than spak thymage / "the best purueance, And wit is / han verray contricioun In strengthe & hele / of the mis-gouernance Of thy lyf / and plener confessioun Make of thy gilt / and satisfaccioun, And asseeth do / and aȝ vices leue þat thee mighten the blisse of heuene reue." <sup>2</sup>	477    481  483
	(70)	
Behave as if you were to die to- day.	" And so / with al thyn herte / it is <sup>3</sup> the beste, Keepe thee fourth / as þat thow this day right, <sup>3</sup> is it A. Or to-morwe / or this wike atte <sup>4</sup> fertheeste, <sup>4</sup> at the A. Sholdist departe fro this worldes light, And ther-with-al / enforce thow thy might, As y shal seyn / in thyn herte to thynke, And thow shalt it nat reewe ne forthynke.	484   488  490
	(71)	
Suppose your soul has been 10 years in Purgatory,	" Caste in thyn herte / as now thy soule were In purgatorie / and hadde pyned be .x. yeer in a fourneys brennynge there, And this only yeer were grantid thee ffor thyn help / so beholde often & see	491    495
and it is crying to you	Thy soule / in the flaumbes of fyr brennynge, With a wrecchid vois / thus to thee crynge : <sup>5</sup>	497

<sup>1</sup> At foot, in a later hand : "Socrates exorted yung springalles, now and then earnestly to veu and behold themselves in a glasse, to the ende—yf theye were beautifull and of good featur of body—they shold beware to commyt nothing vncomly for the same / yf otherwise, that the defautes of the body myght, with exercyse or furniture of the wytte, & with honneste of maners & behaueur, be redoubded."

<sup>2</sup> That heuenes blisse mighten thee byreue A. At right side, later : 'Cumber voure' ; at left side, 'R B A.'

<sup>5</sup> At foot, later : "Non uiuas ut edas ; sed edas, ut uiuere possis.  
Lyue not as a glutton, styll for to eate,  
But fede to maintayne lyfe by thie meate."

(72)

¶ "Of alle freendes / thow, the derwortheſte, ¶ *O amorem omnium dulcissime, succurre &c* [leaf 64, back]  
 Do to thy wrecchid soule help and socour,  
 þat is al desolat / purchace it reſte.  
 See how y brenne / o, reewe on my langour ;  
 Be for me ſo freendly a purueyour, 502  
 þat in this hoot priſon / y no lengere to reſcue it.  
 Tormentid be / lat it nat thus me dere ! 504

(73)

"The worldes fauour / cleene is fro me went ; 505  
 fforsake y am / frendſhipe y can noon fynde ;  
 Ther is no wight / þat to the indigent ¶ *Non eſt qui fidelitatem ostendat; non eſt qui manus porrigat egeni &c*  
 Puttith his helply hand / ſlipt out of mynde ¶ *It is sharp pain.*  
 I am / in peynes sharpe y walwe & wynde ;  
 And of my wo / ther is no wight þat recchith ;  
 Nat knowe y frendſhipe / or to whom it ſtrecchith. 511

(74)

"Men ſeeken thynges / þat to hem ſelf longe, ¶ *Singuli que sua ſunt / querunt, & me in vitricibus flammis deſolatam derelinquant, &c* ¶ *Let it not ſuffer long.*  
 And me leuen in the flaumbes vengeable.  
 O good freend / lat me nat thus pyne longe !  
 ¶ To which the diſciple, with cheere ſtable  
 Seide / "thy lore were profitable, 516 ¶ *The Diſciple approves this,*  
 Who-ſo it hadde by experience  
 As thow haast / ther-to yeue y may credence ;<sup>1</sup> 518

(75)

"But thogh thy wordes sharpe & ſtiryngſe ſeeme, 519 [leaf 65]  
 To many a man / profyten they but lyte ;  
 They looke a-part / and liſt take no yeeme  
 Vn-to the ende / which mighte hem profyte.  
 Yen they haan / and ſeen nat worth a myte ; 523  
 ¶ *but ſays that many men take no thought of their end,*

<sup>1</sup> At foot, in a later hand, "Ouidius de Ponto :

While fortune the favoerthe, frendes thow haſt plentye ;  
 The tyme being troublous, thow arte aft alone :  
 Thow ſeeſt Culvers haunt, howſes made white & daintyſe ;  
 To the ruynus towre, almoost comethe none /  
 In emptie barnes, where faylethe ſubſtaunce,  
 Happenethe no frende in whome is aſſurance."

And eres han also / and may nat heere ;  
They weenen longe for to lyuen heere. 525

(76)

“ And for they, vndisposid deeth nat dreede,<sup>1</sup> 526  
fforsighte at al / ne haan tho wrecches noon  
Of the harm / which ther-of moot folwe neede,  
They deemen stonde as sikir as a stoon ;

but they'll  
have cause to  
fear.

But weel y see / by thee / so moot y goon, 530  
They shuln haan cause / it for to dreede & doute,  
Or þat hir lyues light / be fully oute. 532

(77)

When sickness  
comes to them,

“ Whan dethes messenger comth / sharp seeknesse, 533  
ffreendes and felawes hem haaste & hye,  
The seeke man to conforte of his feblesse,  
And al thyng þat good is / they prophecie ; 536

their friends say  
they'll not die ;

They seyn / “ thogh thow seeke in thy bed now lye,  
Be nat agast / no dethes euel haast thow,  
ffor this / thow shalt eschape wel ynow.”<sup>2</sup> 539

(78)

[leaf 65, back]

“ Thus bodyes freendes been maad enemys 540  
To the soule / for whyl seeknesse greueeth  
The man continually / yit so vnwys  
Is he / þat his enformours he wel leueth ;  
He hopith to been hool / and he mischeeueth 544

but they perish,  
unprepared.

where as he wende han recouered be ;  
Vndisposid to dye / sterueth he. 546

(79)

¶ “ Right so thyn herknerns and thyn Auditours, 547  
Tho þat greet trust han in mannes prudence,  
Nat list hir peynes putte, or hir labours,

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at side: “Hund . . nb . . . Thomas . . . Ch . . . Thomas.” (For ‘vndisposed deeth’ see 200/590).

<sup>2</sup> At foot, in a later hand, “Martialis, lib. 12 :

Yf thow wilt eschew Bytter aduenture,  
And avoyde the knowinge of a pensive harte,  
Sette in no one persoune wholly thie pleasure,  
The lesse shalt thowe yoye, but lesse shalt thou smarte /”

- To execute thyn holsum sentence ;  
 Thow mightist as wel keepe thy silence ; 551  
 They by thy wordes yeuen nat a leeke.”
- ¶ To which, thymage thus answerde & speeke : ¶ *Idcirco / cum inqueo / mortis capti fuerint / cum irruerit repentina calamitas, & interitus quasi tempestas ingruerit &c*
- (80)
- “ for thy, whan they in dethes net been hent,  
 Whan sodein wrecchidnesse hem shal assaiH,  
 Whan deeth, as tempest sharp & violent,  
 With woful trouble hem shal vexe & trauaill,  
 They shuln crie aftir help / and ther-of faill, 558  
 ffor they in hate / sapience hadde,  
 And despysed my reed / & heeld it badde.<sup>1</sup> 560
- (81)
- “ And right as now ther been but fewe fownde, 561  
 þat of my wordes conpunct wole hir lyf  
 Correcte / ne amende in no stownde,  
 Nat may to hem auaille my motyf,  
 But they / hir synnes vsen ay fourth ryf, 565  
 And han no lust / fro synnes hem withdrawe,  
 No more / than they neuere had herd my sawe : 567
- (82)
- “ Right so for the malice of tyme / and lak<sup>r</sup> 568  
 Of goostly loue / and for the iniquitee  
 Of the world / vertu gooth so faste a-bak<sup>r</sup>,  
 þat fewe to the deeth disposid be  
 So weel / þat list this worldes vanitee 572  
 Leue / and for desir of lyf / þat shal euere  
 Endure / coueiten hens to disseuere. 574
- (83)
- “ But whan deeth on hem stelith with hir darte, 575  
 They vnreedy / wowndid in conscience,  
 Nat only goon hens / whan they hens departe /

The dying man says that when

they cry for help, they shan't get it.

[leaf 66]  
 Men will not amend their lives by his words,

or give up the vanities of the world;

so that when Death comes,

<sup>1</sup> At foot, in a later hand : “ In tyme of prosperitie, a man shaft not knowe his frendes, and in aduersitie an ennemye will not be hidde.” “ Yf thow be ashamed to speeke evett, be more ashamed to doe the same.”



they're carried  
off by force.

But they with a manere of violence  
Been hent away / so þat ful greet prudence 579  
They wolde han hold it / han deid as a man  
And nat as a beest / þat no reson can.<sup>1</sup> 581

(84)

[leaf 66, back]  
The cause of  
their neglect is

worldly pleasure,  
and covetousness.

¶ " If of this *commun* peril, thencheson<sup>2</sup> 582  
Thee lyke knowe / y wole it now expresse :  
The desir of honours out of reson,  
The body bathynge in worldly swetnesse,  
Eerthely loue / and to greet greedynesse 586  
In muk-hepyng / blynden many an herte,  
And causen men in-to tho perils sterte. 588

(85)

Learn by me to  
avoid this end,

" If thow desire / the perils to flee 589  
Of vndisposed deeth / my Conseil heere :  
This heuy plyt / in which thow seest now me,  
Reuolue ofte in thy mynde / & by me leere  
ffor to be waar / if thow in this maneere 593  
Wilt do / it shal be thy greet aantage,  
And ese thee at thy laste passage ; 595

(86)

and find death  
the beginning  
of eternal bliss.

" It shal vn-to thee profyte in þat hour,  
þat nat oonly dye it shal nat thee gaste,  
But death / eek as eende of worldly labour,  
And begynnyng of blisse / ay þat shal laste /  
Abyde thow shalt / and desire faste 600  
With al thyn herte / it to take & receyue,  
And al worldly lust leye a-part & weyue. 602

¶ Ex ea nam-  
que proficis /  
vt non solum  
mori non ti-  
meas / verum  
etiam mortem  
&c

<sup>1</sup> At foot, in a later hand :

"The good or evett fortune of all a mans lyffe,  
Ys in the good or evett chowsinge his frend or his wiffe."

<sup>2</sup> At top, in a later hand : "Woman cam of syd of a doog  
wherfor I besech the to . . ." At side : "W. Barnabe" . . . "To  
the right worshipfull . . . master Hanna (?) . . . He that hath"  
"Thomas Carter."

(87)

“ Every day haue of me deep remembrance<sup>1</sup>;      603      [leaf 67]  
 In-to thyn herte / let my wordes synke;  
 The sorwe and angwiss<sup>h</sup> & greuou<sup>s</sup> penance      Remember my  
 Which thow haast seen in me / considere / & thynke      grievous punish-  
 That of peril / thogh<sup>h</sup> art ful ny the brynke;      607      ment,  
 Remembre on my doom / for swich shal thyn be;  
 Myn yistirday / and this day vn-to thee.      609

(88)

“ Looke vp-on me / & thynke on this nyght ay      610      and think how  
 Whyles thow lyuest / o how good & blessid  
 Art thow Arsenius<sup>3</sup> / which pat alway  
 This ilke hour haddest in thyn herte impressid,  
 pat man / as in holy writ is witnessid,      614  
 Which whan god comth and knockith at the yate,  
 Wakyng<sup>e</sup> him fynt / he blessid is algate;      ¶ *Beatus quem  
 cum venerit domi-  
 nus & pulsauerit  
 &c*

(89)

Blessid is he pat thanne founden is      617      blessed is he who  
 Reedy to passe / for he blissfully      is ready to die,  
 Departe shal / and truste right wel this,  
 Thogh<sup>h</sup> deeth assai<sup>h</sup> and vexe greuou<sup>s</sup>ly  
 The rightwys man<sup>4</sup> / or slee him sodeynly,      621  
 How so he dye / he shal go to<sup>5</sup> pat place      ¶ *Quicumque  
 esum morte &c*  
 Where-as confort is / refreshynge & grace.      623

(90)

He shal be poured cleene & purified,      624      [leaf 67, back]  
 And disposid the glorie of god to see;  
 Angels shuln keepe him / & he shal be gyed

<sup>1</sup> Latin scribble at top and sides: “wo . . woman, man sent woman . . Father and mother . . w . . . s<sup>r</sup> Iohn) . . th . . the Father . . A Thowsand, a hundreth, fyve and fyfty / I Love / . . . voman mast . . Vm . . women” . . “Pardye, I sayd yt not / nor never yt Intended /” . . “Barnard” (!) . . “Choos and Crave not, quod Carter.”

<sup>2</sup> for “thow.”

<sup>3</sup> Arcenius A.

<sup>4</sup> The good lyner A.

<sup>5</sup> he gooth vn-to A.

And led by Citeins of the hy Contree,  
 and go to the Court of Heauen, to eternal bliss. And to the Court of heuene vp taken be; 628  
 And of his spirit / shal be the issyng,  
 In-to eternal blisse / the entrynge.<sup>1</sup> 630

(91)

But where shall my wretched soul go? But allas / where shal my wrecchid goost ¶ Sed heu me miserum &c  
 This nyght become / whidir shal it go?  
 What herbergñ shal it haue / or in what coost  
 Shal it arryue / who shal receyue it / who?  
 O! what frendshipe / shal it haue tho? 635  
 O soule abiect / desolat & forsake,  
 Greet cause haast thow / for fere & wo to qwake. 637

(92)

I shed tears, but in vain. " Wherefore y, hauynge of my self pitee, 638  
 Amonges heuy wordes / y out shede  
 Teres / in greet habundance & plentee;  
 But nat auailith me / it is no drede.  
 Hens-fourth compleyne / weepe<sup>2</sup> & crye & grede, 642  
 ffor in no wyse / changed it he may;  
 Al man-kyndes fo / stoppid hath my way. 644

(93)

[leaf 68] " In hidles, in awayt as a Leoun<sup>3</sup> 645  
 He hath leyn / & my soule led hath he  
 In-to the pit of deeth al deepe adoun.  
 O God, I can speak no more: O my lord god / this sharp aduersitee,  
 To stynte of speeche / now compellith me : 649  
 y may no more hens-fourth / speke & bewaiñ,  
 My tonge and eeke my wit / now so<sup>4</sup> me faiñ. 651

(94)

I shall die at once. " Ther is noon othir / y see wel ynow 652  
 The tyme is come / as blyue y shal be deed ;

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at side: "he shal be . . H. 5, 3."

<sup>2</sup> weepe and compleyne A.

<sup>3</sup> Later scribble at side: "Gefferye thirgood . . Ryght . . gefferye thir . . put to . . p p p p p p . . put to . to the sayd gefferyth de vez . . th . . . d d d." <sup>4</sup> so now A.

See how my face wexith pale now,  
 And my look ful dym / &<sup>1</sup> heuy as leed ;  
 Myn yen synke eeke / deepe in-to myn heed, 656  
 And torne vp so down / and myn hondes two  
 Wexen al stif and starke / & may nat do ; 658

(95)

“ Prikkynges of deeth me, wrecche, conpace ; ¶ Puncture  
 Stirteemel gooth my pows<sup>2</sup> / and elles naght ; mortis amar-  
 issime me  
 circumdant  
 & d My pulse beats  
 Mortel pressures / sharply me menace, by starts,  
 My breeth beguneth fait̄ / and eeke the draght  
 Of it fro fer is fet / & deepe caght ; 663  
 No lengere y now see this wordes light ; my eyes fail.  
 Myn yen lost han hir office & might. 665

(96)

“ But now y see with myn yen mental<sup>3</sup> 666 [leaf 68, back]  
 Thestat of al<sup>4</sup> an-othir world than this ;  
 I am ny goon / as faste passe y shal ;  
 O my lord god / a gastful sigfite it is !  
 Now of confort haue y greet lak' & mis ; 670 I have no comfort.  
 Horrible feendes and innumerable  
 Awayte vp-on<sup>5</sup> my soule miserable ;<sup>6</sup> 672

(97)

“ The blake-faced ethiopiens 673 Black Ethiops  
 Me enuyrone / and aftir it abyde surround me.  
 To hente it / whan þat it shal passen hens,  
 If þat par auenture it so betyde  
 þat the lot ther-of / faht vp-on hir syde ; 677  
 hir viserly<sup>7</sup> faces, grim & hydous,  
 Me putte in thoghtful dreedes encombrous. 679

<sup>1</sup> dun my look and as A.

<sup>2</sup> pous A ; powr D.

<sup>3</sup> Later pencil writing at top : “Thomas Wylton) of kyrke Landes whare I doo moste humbly Bygge [!] that (lf. 69, top) this Byll mayd the iiij<sup>th</sup> daye of may in) ye yer.”

<sup>4</sup> al of A.

<sup>5</sup> Awayten on A.

<sup>6</sup> The Ashburnham MS ends.

<sup>7</sup> grisly Reg.

(98)

The stern Judge condemns me. [ <sup>1</sup> weyest me R.]	¶ "O streit and steerne Iuge & domesman, Thow weyest <sup>1</sup> moche / in deemyng <sup>e</sup> me, wrecche, The thynges whiche fewe folkes can But smal by sette / or of hem charge or recche ; Lo / deethes strooke haastith me hens to fecche ; My membres, shee <sup>2</sup> so thirlith & distressith, That nature ouercome is / shee witnessith.	680 684 686
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(99)

[leaf 69]  Farewell, friends :	"O gastful is the iust Iuges lookynge Vn-to me, now present / thurgh fere & dreede, which sodeynly shal come / him self sheewynge. ¶ ffar-wel, freendes & felawes / for neede Moot y vncliffe me of lyues weede ; To purgatorie y shal as streight as lyne, ffor myn offenses / ther to suffre pyne ;	687   694
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¶ O terribilis aspectus iusti iudicis  
mihi iam presenti  
per timorem /  
subito venturus  
&c  
¶ Nunc valete  
socij &c ..

(100)

I shall go to  flery flames,	"And thens twynne y nat / til maad haue y gree Of the leeste ferthyng þat y men shal ; In whiche place y beholde and see Affliccioun and sorwe ynow at al ; Thers y no ioie see, but wo oueral ; The fyry flaumbes vp-on heigh <sup>t</sup> e ryse, In which / the soules brenne in woodly wyse.	694  698 700
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(101)

where soules in torment cry	"They vp now possid been / & now doun throwe, Right as sparcl <sup>e</sup> s of fyr / aboute sprede, Whan þat a greet toun / set is on a lowe, And al is fyred / bothe in lengthe & brede. Wo been the soules / in tho bron <sup>d</sup> es rede, ffor peyne of which torment / ful lowde & hye They in this wyse / ful pitously crye : <sup>3</sup>	701  705 707
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<sup>3</sup> Later scribble at side and foot : "Richard Lyon . . god  
haue mercie vpon all Crysten soules . . and yf thou . . . knewes  
Thouu knewest . . 869 . . v . . . 12" . . 'hast' . . 'hayll mygh  
& ' . .

? a 1430 (? c 1422)

(102)

¶ "Now, mercy haue on our captiuitee ;	708	[leaf 69, back]
To yow our freendes / namely we preye ;		for mercy,
Wher is your help now / wher is your chiertee?		
Whidir been the promesses goon to pleye		
Of yow, our Cousins eeke / can yee portreye		
Your wordes so gayly <sup>1</sup> / and effect noon		[ <sup>1</sup> ghostly Reg.]
flolwith / but al as deed is as a stoon ?		

(103)

"By youre desires inordinat,		
And eeke of othir <sup>2</sup> mo / our self han we		
Broght in-to this plyt and wrecchid estat ;	717	
Ioie han we noon / but of wo greet plentee.		and are full
Allas / why nat vp-on vs reewen yee ?	719	of wo.
We dide al our might / to do yow plesance ;		
And yee no routhe han / on our sharp greuance.	721	

(104)

"fful euele we rewarded been of yow ;	722	They reproach
We brenne / and yee the fyr nat qwenche a deel.		their friends
Allas ! we nadden for our self or now		for not helping
Y-doon / we were auysid no thyng weel ;		them.
Worldly trust is / as slipir as an eel ;	726	
Al is nat trewe / þat the world promettith ;		
fful wys is he / þat ther-by lital settith. <sup>3</sup>	728	

(105)

"The leeste torment of this purgatorie	729	[leaf 70]
þat we souffren / exceedith in sharpnesse		Their tormentes
Tormentes all of the <sup>4</sup> world transitorie.		are most bitter.
Heere, of torment / more is the bittirnesse		[ <sup>4</sup> this Reg.]
In an hour / then the worldes wikkidnesse	733	
May hurte or greeue in an .C. <sup>5</sup> yeer :		[ <sup>5</sup> hundred Reg.]
Greet is thaffliccioun þat we han heer.	735	

<sup>3</sup> Later scribble at side (repeated from leaf 61, p. 192 n. above) :

"No kinde of labore is a thinge of shame,  
but idelnes evermore worthi of blame.

love is the occupacion or busines of idle Folkes, that haue no thinge  
alls to sett themselves & worke wth<sup>h</sup>-all." In the beginning.

(106)

God's face they never see. " But about alle kyndes of tormentis, 736  
 Of goddes blissid face the absence  
 Greueth most / þat lak<sup>1</sup>, our moost<sup>1</sup> wofull sentis :<sup>1</sup>  
 [1—1 Reg. 17 D vi.] ffor a memorie / leue y this sentence  
 To thee / and heere y die in thy presence." 740  
 The Disciple sees the man is dead. ¶ Whan the disciple sy þat he was past  
 And deed / he tremblid and was sore agast ; 742

(107)

He appeals to Wisdom for help. Aboute he torned him / and thus seide he : 743  
 ¶ " Wher art thou now / o sapience eterne ?  
 O / good lord, haast thou now forsaken me ?  
 Wilt thou thy grace me denye and werne ?  
 Thow seidest / ' sapience y sholde lerne ; ' 747  
 And now y am broght to the deeth almost,  
 So troublid is my spirit & my goost. 749

(108)

[leaf 70, back] " This sighte of deeth so sore me astoneth, 750  
 The sight of death þat wite y can vnnethe in soothfastnesse,  
 But am in doute / wher the soothe woneth,  
 That is to meene / if this be in liknesse  
 has mazed him. Or in deede / swich is my mazidnesse ; 754  
 But how it be / lord, y byseeche thee,  
 Be my confort in this perplexitee ! 756

(109)

Its perils " Neuere the perils of deeth vndisposid 757  
 [2 self Reg.] In my lyf<sup>2</sup> kneew I, as y do now right ;  
 have sunk into his heart. Withyn myn herte been they deepe enclosid,  
 And so sadly / ther-in picchid and pight,  
 þat hem foryete / lyth nat in my myght. 761  
 That gastful sighte / y hope shal profyete  
 Vn-to my soules helthe / nat a lyte. 763

(110)

[3—3 Nodwellynge place . haue I espied . ne Han we here Reg.] 3 " Dwellynge place / y haue espyd, and see,  
 Han we noon<sup>3</sup> / in this wrecchid world changeable.

- ffor why / vn-to þat blisful hy contree  
 which nat may varie / but is permanable,  
 Shape y me streeche / o lord god merciabile, 768 He prays for  
 Y mercy axe / vp-on me, wrecche, reewe ! God's mercy,  
 Hens forward / wole y lede a lyf al neewe. 770
- (111)
- " Now lerne for to die / y me purpose ; 771 [leaf 71]  
 Hens-foorth / penance wole y nat delaye ; and promises to  
 My lyf to amende wole y me dispose ; learn how to die,  
 ffor syn thoghþites of deeth / so me esmaye / by repentance  
 Wel more y am sour / deeth me shal affraye 775 and amendment.  
 Whan þat eschue / y shal nat hir presence ;  
 O, ther thyn help / eterne sapience !<sup>1</sup> 777
- (112)
- " Now wole y voide fethirbeddes softe, 778 He will give up  
 The pilwes nesshe / and esy materas feather beds  
 On whiche my careyne / hath tymes ofte  
 Walkid and leyn / now stande I in swich cas  
 þat me thynkith / al greet folie it was. 782  
 Of clothyng eeke, fy on the precioustee,  
 And slouthe of sleep also lettyng me. 784  
 and choise  
 clothes,
- (113)
- " Syn y tormentid am so greuously 785  
 With thynges smale / how sorwes so grete  
 Souffre mighte y, if now die sholde y,  
 þat neuere or this / my synnes kowde lete ?  
 O. what matire / of helle fyr / the hete 789  
 Mighte in me thanne fynde / certes greet,  
 ffor which / my body of cold swoot is al weet. 791
- (114)
- " Now woot I weel / what thyng þat may auaiH 792 [leaf 71, back]  
 My soule / and it keepe fro perisshyng :  
 By souffrance of greet labour & trauaiH,  
 And exercyse of vertuouus lyuyng,  
 and will take  
 to labour and  
 virtuouus life.

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble in margin : "sapience . . presence . . softe."



	Wole y it helpe / left al taryynge,	796
	þat in swich an houres extremittee,	
	No payne / but reste, fynde may shee.	798
	(115)	
	“ O holy and merciful Sauueour,	
	Of so bitter deeth / souffre me nat dye,	
	Thogh y be thikke wrappid in errorr!	
He falls to the ground,	See / beforñ thee / plat on the grownd y lye,	
	Weepyng / for myn excessyf folye ;	803
	And, curteys lord / of thy benignitee,	
	This grace vouche-sauf to grante me,	805
	(116)	
and prays for punishment here	“ Aftir thy lust / be my punysshement	806
	Whyle y am heere / and, good lord, nat reserue	
	To othir place / the chastisement	
	Which þat y, wrecche / heere in this world disserue!	
	let me abyte it heere / or þat y sterue,	810
instead of here-after.	ffor in þat place horrible / is swich sharpnesse	
	Of payne / þat no wight can it expresse.	812
	(117)	
[leaf 78]	¶ “ O how vnwys or this haue y been ay,	813
Tho' he has here-	Syn þat deeth vndisposid and the payne	
	Of purgatorie / y kowde by no way	
	Considerere / ne how it kowde distreyne.	
tofore set his heart on vain things,	Set was myn herte in othir thoghtes veyne,	817
	þat yaf me lettyng and impediment	
	To thynke vp-on the perils consequent ;	819
	(118)	
	‘ But now, thurgh fadirly amonestyng,	
	My myndes yen þat cloos were and shit /	
he now fears Death.	I opne / and of tho perils am dredyng.”	
	¶ And sapience ansueerde anoon to it :	
Wisdom bids him amend while he is young,	“ My sone / to do so / it is greet wit,	824
	Whiles thow yong art / & haast strengthe & force ;	
	Thy lyf for to correcte / thee enforce.	826

¶ O sancte & misericors saluator, tunc amare morti ne tradas me!

¶ Sed nunc paterne admonitus oculos aperio, &c.

(119)

“ Whan þat deeth cometh / which cruel and fel is, 827  
 Whom thou nat maist withstonde ne withsitte /  
 Help ne refuyt / is ther for thee noon ellis /  
 But to the mercy of god / thee committe, and betake him to  
 God's mercy.  
 By no way / þat nat leue ne ommitte ; 831  
 My passioun putte eeke / twixt my doom & thee,  
 Lest more than neede is / adrad thou be. 833

(120)

“ My rightwisnesse nat so mochil dreede 834 [leaf 72, back]  
 þat thou fro trust and hope of mercy twynne ;  
 Contrytly mercy axe / and thou shalt speede.  
 Now restfullere in thy goost be withynne,  
 þat ouer ferd art / thee pouрге of thy synne, 838  
 Scourge thy self / with repentances rod ;  
 Begynnyng of wisdam / is dreede of god. 840 The fear of God  
 is the beginning  
 of wisdom.

(121)

¶ “ Scriptures serche / & by hem shalt thou leere 841  
 þat vn-to man is it greet auantage,  
 Deeth to haue ofte in mynde, in this lyf heere. 843  
 If yeeres manye / and vn-to good age  
 Man lyue / and in all hem glad & sauage ¶ Si annis, inquit  
 sapiens, multis vix-  
 erit homo / & in  
 omnibus hijs letus  
 fuerit / meminisse  
 debet tenebrosi  
 temporis, &c)  
 Be / good is, the dirke hour & dayes wikke Let him remem-  
 ber Death in  
 time,  
 Remembre / or þat he come to the prikke ;

(122)

“ ffor whan þat tyme is comen, and þat hour, 848  
 Repreued shal be the past vanitee ;  
 Remembre therefore on thy Creatour and his Creator  
 in his youth.  
 In thy fressh youthe & lusty iolitee,  
 Or tyme come of sharp aduersitee, 852  
 And or þat yeeres approche of disese,  
 In whiche thou wilt seyn / they nat thee please. 854  
 HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II. P

(123)

[leaf 78]	And, or asshen in-to hir eerthe also <sup>1</sup>	855
	Where-of they were / ageyn hem thidir dresse,	
	And thy spirit to god / whens it cam fro	
	Retourne / god, with al thyn herte blisse,	
	Thanke him / shewe vn-to him thy kyndenesse;	859
The way of sal- vation is open.	ffor he to thee now opned hath the way	
	Wherthurgh thow maist be saued, is no nay.	861

(124)

Few think of the unstableness of the world,	“fful fewe been / þat so <i>with</i> hertes ere,	862
	Konne apparceyue thinstabilitee	
	Of the world / and konne of the deeth han fere,	
	Which þat alway lyth in awayt pryuee,	
and the ever- lasting joy of heaven.	Ne þat of the ioie and felicitee	866
	Of heuene / which ay shal laste & endure,	
	Take any manere heede at al / or cure.	868

(125)

They shut the eyes of their mind,	¶ “Lifte vp thyn yen <sup>2</sup> / looke aboute & see	869
	Diligently / how many folkes blynde [2 MS. then]	
	In hir conceites now a dayes be;	
	They close & shutte the yen of hir mynde;	
	They nat keepe, in hir conceit serche & fynde	873
	Vn-to what ende / needes they shuln drawe,	
	And al for lak of dreede of god, and awe.	875

(126)

[leaf 78, back]	“They stoppe hire eres / for they nat ne keepe	876
	Heere how conuerted be / and receyue helthe;	
	Correccion is noon / they let it sleepe;	
and are drunk with this world's wealth. But Death shall bring them to perdition.	They been so dronken of this worldes welthe,	
	That deeth, or they be waar / right in a stelthe	880
	ffallith up-on hem / which condicioun	
	Hem cause shal hastyf perdicioun.	882

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at top and side, with monograms or figures: “(?) Sued Edmedye . . now must I die, and have not deferred . . Harrison late fir . . . To my approved ffrende m<sup>r</sup> Geaven (i) . . . try and then trust, quod bodytt . . . peace and Grace be *with* yow, frome god the fater for euer and euer . . . W. W . . . W . . n.”

(127)

“The peple now let seen innumerable 883  
 þat for deeth vndisposid / lost han be /  
 Considere / and if thy wit be ther-to able /  
 Noubre of hir multitude the plentee  
 Eeke of hem þat in thy tyme with thee 887 See how many  
 have died during  
 your own lie,  
 Dwelt han / looke how þat they been take away :  
 Thow seest wel / they from hens been past for ay ; 889

(128)

“And as they heere han do / so shuln they haue. 890  
 What multitude in yeeres fewe ago,  
 Thee yit lyuynge / han leid been in hir graue !  
 What brethren / Cousins / felawes and mo brothers, com-  
 panions, &c.  
 Of thy knowleche / beholde alle tho ! 894  
 Thyne eeke, with hem / hire olde synne goon is ;  
 Touche vn-to hem / speke and axe hem of this, 896

(129)

“And they with wepynge and with waymentynge 897 [leaf 74]  
 Shuln to thee seye / and thus ageyn answeere :  
 ‘Blessid is he / þat can see the endynge,  
 And synnes / þat the soule hurte & dere,<sup>1</sup>  
 Eschue can / and hem flee and forbere ;’ 901  
 And þat in my Conseil hath good sauour,  
 Disposynge him alway vn-to þat hour. 903

(130)

“And therefore / alle vicious thynges left, 904 Therefore prepare  
 to die.  
 Weel thee dispose / and reedy make thee  
 To dye / lest the tyme be thee reft  
 Or þat thow be waar / for no certeintee  
 Haast thow ther-of / thow art no thyng pryuee 908  
 Ther-to / deeth is nat fer / right atte yate  
 Shee is / be reedy for to dye algate ! 910

<sup>1</sup> In margin, later : “John Jarlin, & Elizabethe his welle-  
 belovinde Wiffe, dme.” At foot : “Ryghte wellbeloued father  
 and mother.”

(131)

¶ "Right as a Marchant stondynge in a port, 911  
 his ship þat charged is with marchandyse  
 To go to fer parties / for confort  
 Of him self / lookeþ / þat it in sauf wyse  
 Passe out / Right so, if thou wirke as the wyse, 915  
 See to thy soule so / or thow hens weende,  
 þat it may han the lyf þat haath noon eende. 917  
 Amen :"

Look so to your  
 soul before you  
 go hence,  
 that you may  
 gain life ever-  
 lasting.

¶ *Explicit illa pars / per quam sciendum est mori.*

(132)

(leaf 74, back)  
 The other 3 Parts  
 of this treatise,  
 I'm too great  
 a fool  
**T**he othir .iiij. partes which in this booke 918  
 Of the tretice of deeth expressid be,  
 Touche y nat dar / þat labour y forsooke,  
 ffor so greet thyng / to swich a fool as me  
 Ouer chargeable is, by my leautee, 922  
 To medle *wit* / ynow the firste part  
 ffor my smal konnyng is / and symple art ; 924

(133)

But as the .ix<sup>e</sup> lesson which is rad 925  
 In holy chirche / vp-on all halwen day  
 witnessith / syn it ioieful is and glad  
 ffor hem þat hens shuln wel departe away,  
 And to the blisse go þat lastith ay, 929  
 Translate wole y / nat in rym, but prose,  
 ffor so it best is / as þat y suppose, 931

to english in ryme,  
 so I'll do it in  
 prose,

(134)

and tell of the  
 joys of the  
 heavenly city  
 Jerusalem.  
 How greet ioie and blisse / is shapen to hem 932  
 þat so shuln passe hens / vp to the Citee  
 Callid celestial, Ierusalem.  
 Aftir our might and possibilitee  
 Let vs considere / al thogh it so be, 936  
 That for to comprehende þat gladnease,  
 Verraily / no wit may, ne tonge expresse. 938

<sup>1</sup> Lo, thus is seid of þat Citee in a place / There-in  
 is no sorwe / heuynesse ne waymentynge. what  
 is more blisful / than þat lyf is / where no  
 dreede is of pouerte / of maladie / no feeblenesse /  
 there is no wight hurt / no wight wrooth / no wight  
 hath enuye / ther is no brennyng or hete of couetyse / no envy,  
 no desir of mete / noon ambicioun of honour or of  
 power / no dreede of the feend / noon awaytes of  
 deueles / the fere of heñ / fer thens / no deeth of body no fear of hell,  
 ne soule / but ioieful yiftes and iocounde of immor-  
 talitee / there shal neuere be discord / stryf ne debat / no strife;  
 but alle thynges conuenient and accordynge / no diui-  
 sion, but onhede / for ther shal been o concord of añ but unty,  
 seintes / o pees & gladnesse continuel / añ thynges peace,  
 peisible / añ in quiete and reste / there is an excellent  
 brightnesse and shynynge / nat this light / þat now is / brightness.  
 but in so mochil cleerere / as it is bettre and more  
 noble / for, as it is red / "þat Citee shal noon neede  
 haue of the sonnes light / but our lord god al-mighty God lights it.  
 shal enlumyne it" / & the lamb is his lanterne / where  
 as seintes shuln shyne as sterres in perpetuel eternitees /  
 and as the shynynge of the firmament þat spredith his  
 bemes vp-on many men / wherfore in þat place is no  
<sup>2</sup>nyght / no dirknesses / no concours of clowdes / no  
 fretyng cold / no sharpnesse / but swich attemperance  
 of thynges shal be there / whiche neither ye of man  
 neuere sy / ne ere herde / ne herte can thynke ne com-  
 prehende / sauf of hem þat been worthy & han dis-  
 serued to haue þat blisse / whos names arn writen in  
 the booke of lyf / & whiche wasshid hir stoles in the  
 lambes blood / & been befor the See of god / and  
 serue him day and nyght / noon age is there / ne  
 miserie or wrecchidnesse of age / whyles añ shul been  
 o parfyt body, o parfyt man, in the mesure of the ful  
 age of Cryst / [No break in MS.]

[leaf 75]  
 No sorrow is  
 there, or walling,

no envy,

no fear of hell,

no strife;

but unty,

peace,

brightness.

God lights it.

[leaf 75, back]  
 There, is no night  
 or cold, but joys  
 unthinkable;

[Robert as-  
 cue, later,  
 at side.]

no misery,  
 but one perfect  
 body in Christ.

¶ And abouen añ thynges / is to been associated to

ref. use "p."

? a1430 (?c1422)

There folk  
company with  
Angels,

and Saints,

and see Martyrs

[leaf 76]

and Virgins.

The chief of all  
joys is,

to see the bright-  
ness of God.

Win this realm  
by good works.

The Kingdom  
of Heaven is  
taken by assaults  
of Virtue.

It seeks no other  
prize but thee.

As Christ gave  
Himself for thee,  
[leaf 76, back]  
give thyself for  
Him,

the compaignies of the trones / dominacions / Principatz  
& potestatz of Angels & Archangels / & to been in the  
compaignie of all the celestial and hy vertues / & to  
beholde the compaignie of seintes, brightere & yeuyng  
more light than the sterres / shynyng in the feith of  
Patriarks / gladyng & ioyyng in the hope of prophetes  
deemyng the world of apostles in .xij. tribes of Israel /  
& to beholde eeke the shynynges of martirs with pur-  
purat corones of victorie / and to see the compaignies  
of virgines weryng brighte gerlandes. [No break in  
MS.]

¶ And for to speke of the kyng þat sittith in the  
midde of hem / no vois ther-to souffisith / it may nat  
be told ne expressid / that honour / þat vertu / þat  
magnificence and þat glorie exceedith and passith all  
wittes & intellectes of man / and passyng all the  
seintes ioies / is to beholde the inestimable brightnesse  
of þat kyng / & to be spred with the bemes of his  
magestee / let these thynges sadly synke in-to oure  
hertes / let vs vnderstande hem with ful feith / let hem  
be beloued with alle oure hertes / let hem be gotten by  
the greetnesse and by the multitude of goode werkis  
and continuel / this thyng is put in the might of the  
wirkere / for the kyngdam of heuene souffrith forcible  
and mighty assautes of vertu. [No break in the MS.]

¶ O man / this thyng / þat is to seyn, the kyngdam  
of heuene, seekith noon othir prys / but thyn owne  
self / it is as mochil worth as thow art / yeeue thee / &  
thow shalt haue it / what, artow astoned or adrad of the  
prys! Cryst yaf him self / to purchace thee the Regne  
to god the ffadir / Right so yeue <sup>2</sup>thow thy self / þat  
thow maist been his kyngdam / and þat no synne regne  
in thy mortel and deedly body / but let thy good spirit  
regne in thee to purchace thee theternel lyf. ¶ And  
therefore, who-so desirith to haue the merites euere  
lastyng / he moot de-lyte him to gete hem thurgh

goode and vertuous wirkes / That is the path and the  
streight way to blisse endeles / the which he vs  
grante, þat boghte vs with his precious blood. Amen!  
Amen!

by delighting in  
good works.

**N**ow vndirstandith wel and considerith in your  
hertes, þat as mochil ioie as ther is in that  
blisful place of heuene: as greet sorwe, angwissñ and  
torment is in þat othir part in heff / to expresse hem /  
needith nat / for they been the reuers and contrarie to  
the ioies aboue named / wherby uery persone may  
reasonably conceyue þat in þat place of torment the  
peynes been merueillously sharpe & greuous / And yit  
for al þat smert / if any ende sholde sue or folwe / that  
wolde yeue the soules right hy comfort, and greetly  
abregge and lesne hir grief / but awayte nat aftir þat /  
for it wole nat betyde / for right as the seid ioies been  
eternel and ay lastyngē: so been the <sup>1</sup>peynes infynyt  
and endeles / And sikirly, syn god of his hy grace and  
benigne courtesie hath yeuen vs libertee and freedam  
for to purchace by oure wirkes in this present lyfe<sup>2</sup> þat  
oon or þat othir / al standith in our choys and elec-  
cioun: to grete fooles been we / but if we<sup>2</sup> cheese the  
bette part / which part, god of his infynyt goodnesse  
graunte vs alle to cheese / Amen!

As much joy as  
is in Heaven,  
so great torment  
is in Hell.

And as the joys  
are everlasting,  
[1 leaf 77]  
so are the pains  
of Hell.

We can buy  
either one  
or the other.

God grant us  
to choose the  
better part.

?a1430 (?c1425) XXIV. Hoeccl. Jonathas (Dur. U)

¶ *Mic additur alia fabula ad instanciam  
amici mei predilecti assiduam = = =*

[Prolog.] (1)

**T**his booke thus to han endid had y thoght,  
But my freend made me change my cast;  
Cleene out of þat purpos hath he me broght:

1 I meant to stop  
my book here,

<sup>2</sup> MS faded



but my friend  
 prest me to  
 "Thomas," he seide / "at Estren that was last,  
 I redde a tale / which y am agast 5  
 To preye thee, for the laboures sake  
 That thow haast had / for to translate & make ;<sup>1</sup> 7

(2)

[leaf 77, back]  
 english another  
 Tale to warn  
 young men  
 "And yit tu. tain wolde y þat it maad were ; 8  
 Thensaumple of it / to yonge men mighte auaille,  
 And par cas / cause hem riot to forbere  
 The rathere / and be bettre of governaith ;  
 Youthe in no wyse / wole his thankes faiff, 12  
 ffllessñ for to chepe, femel and venal,  
 Payyng for it / more than worth is al. 14

(3)

He said,  
 bought women  
 slay the soul,  
 and empty the  
 purse.  
 "þat thyng is deere and ouer deere boghit, 15  
 That soule sleeth / and the body destroieth,  
 And the purs emptiith, leuyng in it noghit  
 Or smal / swich chaffare often sythe annoieth,  
 And yonge folke encombrith and accloieth, 19  
 Lettyng hem to purchace hem good renoun,  
 And haastyng hem to hir confusioun.<sup>2</sup> 21

(4)

And he had a  
 wild son of 15,  
 for whom he  
 wanted the Tale  
 englisht.  
 "ffor this is þat y speke / and to this ende : 22  
 A sone haue y .xv. yeer of age,  
 ffor whom it is as wisly, god mamende,  
 þat y desire, in-to our langage  
 þat tale be translated / for Sauage 26  
 And wyld is he / and likly to foleye  
 In swich cas / now helpe if thow maist, y preye. 28

(5)

[leaf 78]  
 "Nat fer the tale fro / which thow maad haast 29  
 Of themperice / this tale is, y trowe,  
 And is of a womman / þat was vnchaast

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at foot: 'g p d . . This balws (!). At back :  
 'Thomas . . nn) . . M 4.'

<sup>2</sup> At side, later: 'Mr. Joclyne.'

- And deceyuable and aly / as thow shalt knowe  
 By þat the lyues / thow red haue on rowe. 33 It was a *Gesta*  
 story of a de-  
 ceitful, unchaste  
 woman.
- Brynge y shal thee / the copie verray  
 There-of / if thee list / seye on yee or nay." 35
- (6)
- ¶ "ffreend, looth me were nay seye vn-to yow,  
 But y suppose / it may noon othir be,  
 Lest wommen vn-to Magge, the good kow,  
 Me likne / and thus seye / 'o, beholde & see  
 The double man / o, yondir, lo, gooth he 40 Hoccleve con-  
 sents,  
 lest women  
 should liken him  
 to Madge, the  
 good cow,
- That hony first yaf / and now yeueth galle :  
 He fo in herte is / vn-to wommen alle ; 42
- (7)
- " 'Til he of wommen oute<sup>1</sup> wordes wikke,  
 He fastynge is / him seemeth ; al the day,  
 Out of his mowth / lesynges swarmen thikke ;  
 On wommen / no good word / affoorthe he may ;  
 And if he wel speke / or wryte / is no nay, 47  
 He nat meueth / as he spekith or writ :  
 O lewde dotepol / straw for his wit !' 49
- (8)
- " This þat yee me now reede is al contrarie 50 [leaf 78, back]  
 Hoccleve thinks  
 this Tale incon-  
 sistent with his  
 friend's advice  
 that he shal beg  
 for women's  
 favour.
- Vn-to þat yee me red han heer-before ;  
 Yee senden<sup>2</sup> / syn y many an aduersarie  
 Had of wommen / for y mis had me bore  
 To hem or this : yee redden me therefore 54  
 Humble me to hem / and of grace hem preye ;  
 But this reed haldith al an othir weye. 56
- (9)
- " Sholde y a neewe smoke now vp reyse,  
 And y so mochil rered haue or now  
 By your sawe than were y nat to preise."  
 ¶ " Thomas, to wikkid wommen wel maist thow  
 Yeue hir pars / & wryte of hem cuele ynow ; 61 His friend says,  
 "Blaming wicked  
 women

<sup>1</sup> out, *vd.* = utter. [The proof of the next 3½ pages has been lost.]

<sup>2</sup> ; for seiden.

is no shame to good ones.

To goode wommen shal it be no shame,  
Al thogh þat thow / vnhonest wommen blame ; 63

(10)

“ ffor, Thomas / thow shalt vndirstonde this, 64

“No woman 'll abuse you except those who've gone wrong.”

No womman wole / to thee ward maligne,  
But swich oon / as hath trode hir shoo amis ;  
ffor who so dooth / ful suspect is the signe ;  
The vertuous womman / good and benigne, 68

Noon encheson but good / may han to thee  
ffor this tale / wryte on par charitee ! 70

(11)

[leaf 79]

“ Nat oonly for my sones tendrenesse<sup>1</sup> 71

And I want the Tale, not only for my son, but to rebuke women's wantonness now.”

Coueite y / þat this tale were makid /  
But to rebuke also / the wantonnesse  
Of lyf of many a womman / þat is nakid  
Of honestee / and with deshonour blakid ; 75

Eeke to miroure wommen vertuous ;  
What ende takith swich lyf vicious ?” 77

(12)

So Hoccleve agrees,

¶ “ On goddes half, freend / than let the copie 78

Of þat tale / whan yow list, be me sent ;  
And with good wil / wole y ther-to me hye  
Whan y there-of / take haue auisament.”

¶ He glad was ther-with-al / & wel content. 82

gets the story, and englishes it.

The copie on the morwe sente he me ;  
And thus y wroot as yee may heere see. 84

¶ Explicit prologus, & incipit  
fabula de quadam muliere mala.

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at top and side :

“ He that in yothe no vartue (?) well ves [= use],  
in age all honor will hym refuse ;  
therefore better yt were, a pouer house to holde,  
then to lye in preason in fetteres of golde.

Le the Ryght Ryght Reuerent fayther in god, maister bonor,  
doctor Wylyam Willon) of Kyrke-lande in the dyoule [? MS.]  
afore-sade dothe all vnto the . . . thay thay thay that . . . Can  
natt, nor may nott, nor yett, I thenke, shall not Lede my Lyfe  
quet-lye ; my wyfe well not lett me.”

(13)

<sup>1</sup> Somyne Reg.

Whilom<sup>1</sup> an Emperour prudent & wys\* 85 [leaf 79, back]  
 Regned in Rome / and hadde sones three,  
 whiche he hadde in greet chiertee & greet prys ;  
 And whan it shoop so / þat thinfirmitee <sup>2</sup> ne Reg. 85  
 Of deeth / which no wight may eschue or<sup>2</sup> flee, 89  
 Him threwe down in his bed / he leet do call  
 His sones / and before him they cam aȝ ; 91  
 and sends for his  
 sons.

(14)

And to the firste / he seide in this maneere : 92 To the first, he  
 " Al theritage which at the dyyng 92 leaves his inher-  
 Of my fadir he me lefte : al in feere ited land.  
 leue y thee ¶ and al þat of my byyng  
 was / with my peny / al<sup>3</sup> my purchacynge, \* and R. 96 To the second,  
 My second sone / byqwethe y to thee." his acquired  
 ¶ And to the .iiij<sup>de</sup>. sone / thus seide he : 98 property.

(15)

" Vnmeeble good right noon, withlouten coth, 99 To the third,  
 Thee yeue y may / but y to thee dyuyse three Jewels, a  
 Iewelles .iiij<sup>e</sup>. a ryng / brooch & a clooth, Ring, a Brooch,  
 with whiche / and thow be gyed as the wyse, and a Cloth.  
 Thow maist gete al þat oȝhte thee souffyse. 103  
 who-so þat the ryng vsith for to were,  
 Of alle folke the loue he shal conquere ; 105  
 The Ring 'll get  
 its wearer the love  
 of every one.

(16)

" And who so the brooch berith on his brest, 106 [leaf 80]  
 It is eek of swich vertu and swich kynde, The Brooch 'll  
 That thynke vp-on what thyng him lykith best, get him whatever  
 And he as blyue shal it haue & fynde. he likes.  
 My wordes, sone, enprynte wel in mynde ; 110  
 ¶ The clooth eeke hath a merueillous nature, The Cloth  
 which þat committed shal be to thy cure : 112

(17)

" Who-so sit on it / if he wisshe where 113 'll carry any  
 In al the world to been / he sodeynly sitter on it

\* A few of the many differences of the worse MS. Reg. 17 D VI are given in this sheet.

- wherever he wishes to go. Withoute more labour shal be there.  
 Sone, tho three Iewelles byqwethe y  
 To thee / vn-to this effect certeynly, 117  
 þat to the studie of the vniuersitee  
 Thow go / and þat y bidde and charge thee." 119  
 (18)
- The Emperor dies, Whan he had thus seid<sup>1</sup> / the vexacioun<sup>1</sup> yseide Reg. 120  
 Of deeth so haastid him, þat his spiryt  
 Anoon forsooke his habitacioun  
 In his body / deeth wolde no respyt  
 him yeue at al / he was of his lyf qwyt, 124  
 and is solemnly buried. And biried was with swich solempnitee  
 As fil to his imperial dignitee. 126  
 (19)
- [leaf 80, back] ¶ Of the yongeste sone I telle shal, 127  
 I shall tell you only of the third son, Jonathas. And speke no more of his brethren two,  
 ffor with hem haue y nat to do<sup>2</sup> at al. \* done Reg.  
 Thus spak the modir, Ionathas vn-to :  
 "Syn god his wil hath of thy fadir do,<sup>3</sup> 131  
 His mother says she'll give him To thy fadres wil / wole y me confourme,  
 And trewely / his testament<sup>4</sup> parfourme :<sup>4</sup> entente R. 133  
 (20)
- the three Jewels. "He<sup>5</sup> .iij. Iewelles / as thow knowest weel, \* Here Reg.  
 A ryng / a brooch & a clooth, thee byqweeth,  
 Whos vertues / he thee tolde euerydeel  
 Or þat he paste hens / & yald vp the breeth.  
 O goode god / his departyng, his<sup>6</sup> deeth<sup>6</sup> and Reg. 138  
 But her husband's death sticks in her heart. fful greuously stikith vn-to myn herte ;<sup>7</sup> I Reg.  
 But souffred moot been al / how sore it<sup>7</sup> smerte." 140  
 (21)
- (Some widows do grieve terribly, In þat cas wommen han swich heynesse, 141  
 þat it nat lyth<sup>8</sup> in my konnyng aright \* lith nat Reg.  
 Yow telle of so greet sorwe the excesse,  
 but wise ones take it easy, But wyse wommen konne take it light,  
 And in short whyle<sup>9</sup> putte vn-to the flight \* wise R. 145  
<sup>3</sup> Sithen god hath his wille / of thy fader ydo.--Reg.

Al sorwe and wo / and cacche ageyn confort :  
Now to my tale make y my resort. 147

and get comforted  
again.)

(22)

¶ "Thy fadres wil, my sone, as y seide eer', 148

[leaf 81]

wole y parfourme / haue heer the ryng, and go

Jonathas's mother  
gives him the  
Magic Ring,

To studie anoon / and whan þat thow art theer,

As thy fadir thee bad / do euene so ;

And as thow wilt, my blessyng haue also." 152

Shee vn-to him as swythe tooke the ryng,

And bad him keepe it weel / for any thyng. 154

(23)

He wente vn-to the studie general, 155

and he goes to  
the University.

Wher he gat loue ynow, and aqueyntance

Right good and frendly / the ryng causynge al.

And on a day / to him befel this chance :

With a womman, a morsel of plesance, 159

He meets a wo-  
man, a morsel of  
pleasure,

By the streetes of the vniuersitee

As he was in his walkynge, mette he ; 161

(24)

And right as blyue he *wil* hire had a tale, 162

And ther-*wil*-al / sore in hir loue he brente :

Gay / fressh and pykid was shee to the sale,

gay and smart,  
for sale,

ffor to þat ende and to þat entente

Shee thidir cam / and bothe foorth they wente, 166

And he a pistle rowned in hire ere :

Nat woot y what / for y ne cam nat there.<sup>1</sup> 168

(25)

Shee was his *paramour*, shortley<sup>2</sup> to seye. <sup>2</sup> shortly R. 169

[leaf 81, back]  
and takes her  
as his mistress.

This man to folkes alle was so leef,

þat they him yaf<sup>3</sup> habundance of moneye. <sup>3</sup> vafe Reg.

he feestid folke / and stood at hy boncheef ;

Of the lake<sup>4</sup> of good / he felte no greef, <sup>4</sup> lakke Reg. 173

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at foot : "This biit made the x<sup>th</sup> days of  
mays In the fy[r]ste yeere of the raygne of ore moste soueren  
lord ky". Above : "youth . . B . . he . . yonl."

222 XXIV. FELLICOLA WHEEDLES JONATHAS'S SECRET OUT OF HIM.

He gets plenty of money from his Ring. Al whyles þat the ryng he with him hadde ;  
But faylynge it / his frendshipe gan sadde.<sup>1</sup> 175

(26)

His paramour Fellicula His paramour, which þat / y-callid was 176

ffellicula / meruailled right greetly  
Of the despenses of this Ionathas,  
Syn shee no peny at al with him sy ;  
And on a nyght / as þat shee lay him by 180

In the bed / thus shee to him spake & seide,  
And this peticion assoiH him preyde : 182

(27)

prays him, ¶ " O reuerent sire / vn-to whom," quod<sup>2</sup> shee, 183  
" Obeye y wole ay with hertes humblesse,

as he's had her maidenhead, Syn / þat yee han had my virginitee, \* kolli (always) Reg.  
yow y byseeche, of your hy gentillesse,

to tell her where his riches come from. Tellith me whens comth the good & richesse 187  
That yee with feesten folke / and han no stoor,

By aght y see can / ne gold ne<sup>3</sup> tresor." <sup>3</sup> no coigne in Reg.

(28)

[leaf 82] " If y telle it," quod he / " par auenture 190

Thow wilt deskeuere it / & out it publisshē :

He says women can't keep a secret. Swich is wommannes inconstant nature,  
They can nat keepe conseil worth a risshe ;

Bettle is, my tonge keepe / than to wisshe 194

þat y had kept cloos þat is goon at large, <sup>4</sup> For Reg.

And<sup>4</sup> repentance is thyng þat y moot charge."<sup>5</sup> 196

(29)

¶ " Nay, goode sire / haldith me nat suspect ; 197

But, as she says she can, Douthith nothyng ; y can be right secree.  
wel worthy were it me to been abiect

ffrom al good compaignie / if y," quod shee,

" Vn-to yow sholde so mis take<sup>6</sup> me ; <sup>6</sup> mystake Reg. 201

Beeth nat adrad your Conseil me to shewe."

he tells her ¶ " wel," seide he / " thus it is, at wordes fewe : 203

<sup>1</sup> At side : " ynof." <sup>5</sup> At side : " Robert askewe . He thd . . Lwillm."

(30)

“My fadir, the ryng which þat thow maist see 204 that his Ring  
 On my fyngir / me at his dyyng<sup>1</sup> day <sup>1</sup> endyng Reg.  
 Byqweeth<sup>2</sup> / which this vertu & proprettee <sup>2</sup> Bequathe Reg.  
 hath / þat the loue of men, he shal haue ay  
 þat werith it / and ther shal be no nay, 208 makes men  
 Of what thyng þat him lykith axe & craue, and give him  
 But with good wil / he shal as blyue it haue 210 all he wants.

(31)

“Thurgh þat rynges vertuous excellence : 211 [leaf 82, back]  
 Thus am y ryche, and haue euere ynow.”  
 ¶ “Now, sire, yit a word, by your licence,  
 Suffrith me for to seye and speke now : Fellicula shows  
 Is it wysdam / as þat it seemeth yow, 215  
 were<sup>3</sup> it on your fyngir continually ?” <sup>3</sup> To were Reg.  
 ¶ “what <sup>4</sup>woldest thow mene,” quod he,<sup>4</sup> “ther-by ?  
<sup>4</sup> wold ye my love kotte he. mene Reg.

(32)

“What peril ther-of mighte ther befall ?” 218  
 ¶ “Right greet,” quod she / “as yee in conpaignye him how easily  
 walke often / fro your fyngir mighte it fall, he may lose his  
 Or plukkid of been<sup>5</sup> in a ragerie, <sup>5</sup> be plukked of Reg. Ring off his  
 And so be lost / and þat were folie. 222 finger,  
 Take it me / let me been of it<sup>6</sup> wardeyn ; <sup>6</sup> be therof Reg. and offers to keep  
 ffor as my lyf, keepe it wole y<sup>7</sup> certeyn.”<sup>8</sup> 224 it for him.  
<sup>7</sup> kepe wole I it Reg.

(33)

This Ionathas / this innocent yong man, 225 Poor innocent  
 Yeuyng vn-to hir wordes / ful credence,— Jonathas gives  
 As youthe nat auysed best be can:— it her,  
 The ryng hir tooke, of his insipience.  
 Whan this was doon / the hete & the feruence 229

<sup>8</sup> Later scribble in margin : “harye olyic xc to caunend [?] . .

Who seketh the renoune to haue,  
 And eke the prayse of vertuus name  
 Of wisdoms ways, he ought to craue  
 Withe gladsom will to work the same.”



? 91430 (? c 1425)

and her love at  
once coole,

Of loue / þat he had befor purchased,  
Was qweynt / & loues knotte<sup>1</sup> was vnplaced.<sup>2</sup> 231

<sup>1</sup> the knotte of love Reg.

(34)

[leaf 88]  
and men's gifts  
stop.

Men of hir yiftes for to stynte gan : 232

“A,” thoghþe he / “for the ryng y nat ne bere,  
ffailith my loue / fecche me, womman,”

Jonathas asks  
her for the Ring  
again.

Seide he, “my ryng / anoon y wole it were.”  
She roos / and in-to Chambre dressith here ; 236

And whan shee there-in / hadde been a whyle,  
“Allas,” quod shee / “out on falshode and gyle, 238

(35)

She declares it's  
been stolen.

“The chiste is broken / and the ryng take out.” 239

And whan he herde hir conplaynte and<sup>3</sup> cry, \* and hir R.

He was astoned sore / and made a shout,

And seide / “cursid be þat day þat y  
The mette first, or with myn yen sy.” 243

She wepte, and shewid outward cheere of wo,  
But in hire herte / was it no thyng so ; 245

(36)

(But it was safe  
in her box all  
the time.)

The ryng was sauf ynow / and in hir cheste 246

It was / al<sup>4</sup> þat shee seide was lesyng, \* And alle Reg.

As sum womman / othir whyle atte beste

Can lye and weepe / whan is hir lykyng.<sup>5</sup>

Jonathas tells her  
not to mind.

¶ This man sy hir wo / and seide, “derlyng, 250

Weepe no more / goddes help is ny ;”<sup>5</sup> kun weepe and lye.  
at her owen Reg.

To him vnwist / how fals shee was and sly.<sup>6</sup> 252

<sup>3</sup> Later, at side : “*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum* :  
Fortunate is he who hathe the happe  
to bewarre by an-other mannes clappe.”

<sup>6</sup> In a later hand (? c. 1500), at foot :  
“A sufficient salve for eache disease,  
The cheff revenge for cruell yre,  
Ys patyence, the present ease  
For to delaye eche flamy fyre.”

At side :  
“I count his conquest greate,  
That canne, by reasons scylle,  
Subdue affections heate,  
And conquer wanton wyll.”

(37)

He twynned thens / and hoom to his Contree, 253 [leaf 83, back]  
 Vn-to his modir, the streight way he wente. Jonathas goes  
 And whan shee sy / thidir comen<sup>1</sup> was he, <sup>1</sup> that thidir home to his  
 come Reg. Mother,  
 ¶ "My sone," quod shee / "what was thyn entente,  
 Thee fro the scoole / now for to absente? 257  
 What causid thee / fro scoole hidir to<sup>2</sup> hye?" <sup>2</sup> the studye  
 hider Reg.]  
 ¶ "Modir, right this," seide he / "nat wole y lye: 259

(38)

"ffor soothe, modir / my ryng<sup>3</sup> is ago; <sup>3</sup> The Ryng that 260 and tells her  
 ye me tooke R. his paramour  
 My paramour, to keepe y betooke it, has lost his Ring.  
 And it is lost / for which y am ful wo;  
 Sorwefully<sup>4</sup> vn-to myn herte it sit." <sup>4</sup> Right greuouely Reg.  
 ¶ "Sone / often haue y warned thee / & yit 264  
 ffor thy profyt y warne thee, my sone;  
 Vnhonest wommen / thow heere-aftir shone. 266

(39)

<sup>5</sup> to the wole I Reg.  
 "Thy brooch anon right wole y to thee<sup>5</sup> fette." 267 His Mother gives  
 Shee broghte it him / and charged him ful deepe— him his Magic  
 Brooch.  
 Whan he it tooke / and on his brest it sette,—  
 Bet than he dide his ryng / he sholde it keepe,  
 lest he the los / bewaile<sup>6</sup> sholde and weepe." 271  
 To the vniuersitee / shortly to seyn, <sup>6</sup> for the losse he waile Reg. He goes back to  
 In what he kowde / he haastid him ageyn.<sup>7</sup> 273 the University.

(40)

And whan he comen was / his paramour<sup>8</sup> 274 [leaf 84]  
 Him mette anon / and vn-to hire him tooke, and takes up  
 As þat he dide erst / this yong reuelour; again with his  
 Hir compaignie he nat a deel forsooke, paramour  
 Fellicula.  
 Thogh he cause hadde / but, as with the hooke 278  
 Of hir sleighte / he befrom was caght & hent /  
 Right so he was deceyued eft & blent. 280

<sup>7</sup> At foot, later, "Thomas."

<sup>8</sup> In margin, later: "tho . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Dut to th D fayde."

? 21430 (?C1425)

(41)

Jonathas gets much money thro his Brooch.

And as thurgh vertu of the ryng before, 281  
 Of good he hadde habundance & plentee,  
 while it was *with* him / or he hadde it lore :

Right so / thurgh vertu of the brocch, had he  
 What good him list / shee thoghite, " how may this be ?  
 Sum pryuce thyng / now causith this richesse :  
 As dide the ryng / heer-before, y gesse." 287

(42)

Fellicula urges him to tell her where his money comes from.

Wondrynge heer-on / shee preide him, and besoghite  
 Bysly nyght and day / *pat* telle he wolde 289  
 The cause of this / but he an othir thoghite ;

[L] cloos fro hir Reg.  
 [M] he not to hir Reg.  
 [N] wept Reg.  
 [O] she borne Reg.]

He mente / <sup>1</sup>it cloos for him<sup>1</sup> / it kept be sholde ;  
 And a long tyme <sup>2</sup>it was / or he<sup>2</sup> it tolde. 292  
 Shee kepte<sup>3</sup> ay to and to / and seide, " allas  
 The tyme and hour / *pat* euere y bore<sup>4</sup> was !<sup>5</sup> 294

(43)

[leaf 84, back]

She says she'll sooner be slain than betray him.

" Truste yee nat on me, sire ?" she seide ; 295  
 " leuer me were be slayn<sup>6</sup> in this place <sup>6</sup> dede Reg.  
 By *pat* good lord / *pat* for vs alle deide,  
 Than purpose ageyn<sup>7</sup> yow any fallace. <sup>7</sup> ayenat Reg.  
 Vn-to yow wole y be, my lyues space, 299  
 As treewe as any womman in eerthe is  
 Vn-to a man / doutith no thyng of this." 301

(44)

¶ Smal may<sup>8</sup> shee do / *pat* can nat wel byheete, 302  
 Thogh nat parfourmed be swich a promesse. <sup>8</sup> kan Reg.

¶ This Ionathas thoghite hir wordes <sup>9</sup>so sweete,  
*pat* he was dronke of the plesant swetnesse  
 Of hem / and of his foolissh tendrenesse,<sup>9</sup> 306  
 Thus vn-to hire he spak and seide tho :  
 " Be of good confort / why weepist thou so ?" 308

He is foolishly tender, and tells her.

<sup>5</sup> At foot, later, " Iohn Bargain / Ann. 1551."  
<sup>9</sup> . . . . . swete  
 To hym, and of his foolish tendirnesse,  
 Why makest thou att this wo and hevynesse Reg.

(45)

- ¶ And shee ther-to answerde thus / sobbynge : 309 Fellicula says  
 "Sire," quod shee / "myn heynesse and dreede  
 Is this / y am adrad of the leesyng  
 Of your brooch / as almighty god forbeede  
 It happid so" // "now, what so, god thee speede," 313  
 Seide he, "woldist thou in this cas consaille?"  
 ¶ Quod shee, "pat y keepe mighte it,<sup>1</sup> sanz faille." 315 He should let her  
<sup>1</sup> I myght it kepe Reg. keep it

(46)

- He seide, "y haue a fere & dreede algate, 316 [leaf 88]  
 If y so dide, thow woldest it leese,  
 As thow lostist my ryng / now goon but late."  
 ¶ "first, god preye y,"<sup>2</sup> quod shee / "pat y nat cheese [<sup>2</sup> pray I god R.]  
 But pat myn herte / as the cold frost may freese, 320  
 Or elles be it brent / with wyld fyr ;  
 Nay / seurlly it to keepe / is my desyr." 322 safe for him.

(47)

- To hir wordes / credence he yaf<sup>3</sup> pleneer, <sup>3</sup> he yafe credence R. Jonathas gives  
 And the brooch tooke hire / and aftir anoon, 324 her the Brooch,  
 Where-as he was beforn ful leef & cheer<sup>4</sup> <sup>4</sup> dere Reg. and looses his  
 To folke / and hadde good / al was agoon : friends.  
 Good and frendshipe him lakkid / ther was noon. 327  
 "Womman / me fecche the brooch," quod he, "swythe<sup>5</sup>  
 In-to thy chambre for it go / now hy the !" <sup>6</sup> 329 He asks for the  
<sup>5</sup> the brooche me fette. he seide now Reg. Brooch again.  
<sup>6</sup> go therfore. and tarye nat thow Reg.

(48)

- Shee in-to Chambre wente / as pat he<sup>7</sup> bad, <sup>7</sup> he hir Reg.  
 But she nat broghte / pat he sente hir fore ; 331  
 Shee mente it nat / but as shee had be mad,  
 hir clothes hath shee al to-rent & tore, Fellicula tears  
 And cryde, "allas / the brooch away is bore ! 334 her clothes,  
 ffor which y wole anoon right, with my knyf and says the  
 My self slee / y am weery of my lyfe." 336 Brooch is gone:  
 she'll kill herself.

<sup>4</sup> Later, at side : "Hoind . . ¶ God, my duty don, I humble commend me vnto you, trustinge In the louyng god long to contennee."

? 21430 (? 21425)

(49)

[leaf 85, back] This noyse he herde / & blyue he to<sup>1</sup> hir ran, <sup>1</sup> hlyue vnto R.  
 weenyng shee wolde han doon as shee spak<sup>t</sup>; 337  
 Jonathan takes the knife out of her hand, And the knyf, in al haaste pat<sup>2</sup> he can, <sup>2</sup> as hastily as Reg.  
 ffrom hire tooke / & threew<sup>3</sup> it behynde his bak,  
 And seide / "for the los / ne for the lak<sup>t</sup> <sup>3</sup> caste Reg. 341  
 and forgives her. Of the brooch / sorwe nat / y foryeue al ;  
 I truste in god / pat yit vs helpe he<sup>4</sup> shal." <sup>4</sup> he vs helpe R.

(50)

He goes back again to his Mother, To themperice his modir / this yong man 344  
 Ageyn him dressith / he<sup>5</sup> wente hire vn-to. <sup>5</sup> dresseth. and R.  
 And whan shee sy him / shee to wondre gan ;  
 Shee thogh<sup>t</sup>e / 'now sumwhat ther is mis-do' ;  
 And seide / "y dreede thy Iewelles two 348  
 Been lost now / per cas the brooch<sup>6</sup> with the ryng."  
 and tells her his Brooch is lost. ¶ "Modir," he seide / "yee / by heuene kyng." 350  
<sup>6</sup> the brooche per cas Reg.

(51)

¶ "Sone, thow woost wel / no Iewel is left 351  
 Vn-to thee now / but<sup>7</sup> the clooth precious, <sup>7</sup> save Reg.  
 Which y thee take shal / thee charging eft,  
 She warns him against riotous women, The conpaignie of wommen riotous  
 Thow flee / lest it be to thee so greuous 355  
 That thow it nat susteene shalt,<sup>8</sup> ne bere :  
 Swich conpaignie, on my blessynge, forbere !"<sup>9</sup> 357  
<sup>8</sup> ne shalt not it susteene Reg.

(52)

[leaf 86] The clooth shee fette / and it hath<sup>10</sup> him take,<sup>11</sup> 358  
 and gives him his Magic Cloth. And of his lady his modir, his lœue <sup>10</sup> it fette . and half it Reg.

<sup>9</sup> By a later hand in the margin :

"Know er thow kyntt, and then thow mayst slake ;  
 yf thow kyntt er thow know, then hyt ys to late, &c,"

(see pages 124, 152, above : footnotes).

"He that wyll not whan he maye,  
 Whan he wolde, he shall haue naye."

At foot, upside down :

"Better hyt hys, seeten to abyde,  
 then hastily to clym, and hastily to clyde [glyde]."

<sup>11</sup> Later scribble at top and side : "Hary ollyeux (?) Ha Mollynex . .  
 This it good . . hys feyndes . . to vnderstand . . mihm . ."

He tooke / but first this forward gan he make :

¶ "Modir," seide he / "trustith this weel, & leewe

þat y shal seyn / for sooth yee shul it preeue : 362

If y leese this clooth / neuere y your face

Hens-fourth se wole / ne yow preye of grace. 364

Jonathas says  
he'll never see  
his Mother again  
if he loses his  
Cloth.

(53)

"With goddes help / y shal do wel ynow." 365

Hir blessing he tooke / and to studie is go ;

And as befor told haue y vn-to yow,

his paramour / his priuee mortel fo, 369

Was wont for to meete him / right euene so

Shee dide thanne / & made him plesant cheere :

They clippe and kisse / and walke homward in feere.

He goes back to  
the University,  
and again his  
paramour meets  
and kisses him,

and takes him  
home.

(54)

Whan they were entred in the hows / he spradde 372

This clooth vp-on the ground / and ther-on sit,

And bad his paramour, this womman badde,

To sitte also / by him adoun on it.

Shee dooth as þat he commandith and bit. 376

had shee his thoght / and vertu of the clooth

wist / to han sete on it / had shee been looth. 378

He bids her sit  
by him on his  
Cloth,

(55)

Shee for a whyle was ful sore affesid.<sup>1</sup> 379

¶ This Ionathas wisse in his herte gan :

"wolde god þat y mighte thus been esid,

That as on this clooth y and this womman

Sitte here / as fer were, as þat neuere man 383

Or this cam" / and vnnethe had he so thoght,

But they with the clooth thidir weren broght 385

[leaf 86, back]

and then wishes  
that they may  
go far away.

At once they

(56)

Right to the worldes ende, as þat it were. 386

¶ Whan apparceyued had shee\*this / shee cryde

are borne to the  
world's end.

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at top: "Shee for a godes wis fulli sorye sas" . . "Th Tho y y y y." At left side: "Wolld godd Wolld Wolld . . stumm."

As thogh shee thurgh-girt had be with a spere :  
 " Harrow / allas þat euere shoop this tyde !  
 Jonathan says he'll leave Fell-  
 icula there, How cam we hidir" / " nay," he seide / " abyde ; 390  
 Wers is comynge / heer, soul wole y thee leue ;  
 Wylde beestes thee shuln deuoure or eue, 392

(57)

because she's  
 stolen his Ring  
 and Brooch. ¶ " ffor thow my ryng and brooch haast fro me holden."  
 ¶ " O reuerent Sire, haue vp-on me pitee," 394  
 Quod shee / " if yee this grace do me wolden,  
 She vows she'll  
 give em back to  
 him if he'll take  
 her home, As me brynge hoom ageyn to the Citee  
 Where as y this day was / but if þat yee 397  
 hem haue ageyn / of foul deeth do me dye ;  
 Your bontee on me kythe / y mercy crye." 399

(58)

[leaf 87] ¶ This Ionathas kowde no thyng be waar,<sup>1</sup> 400  
 Ne take ensample of the deceites tweyne  
 þat shee dide him befor / but feith him<sup>2</sup> baar,  
 And hire he comanded, -on dethes peyne,  
 ffor swiche offenses / thens-foorth hir restreyne. 404  
 and swears she'll  
 give up ill doing. Shee swoor, and made ther-to forward ;  
 But herkneþ how shee baar hire aftirward : 406

(59)

Whan shee sy and kneew þat the wratthe & ire 407  
 þat he to hire had born / was goon & past,  
 And al was wel : shee thoghþe him eft to fyre ;  
 In hir malice ay stood shee stidefast,  
 And to enquere of him / was nat agast, 411  
 Then she asks  
 how they were  
 carried away. In so short tyme / how þat it mighte be  
 That they cam thidir out of hir contree. 413

(60)

Jonathan tells  
 her of his Magic  
 Cloth, ¶ " Swich vertu hath this clooth on which we sitte,"  
 Seide he / " þat where / in this world vs be list, 415  
 Sodeynly with the thoght shuln thidir flitte,

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at side: "This comon (?) . . . William . . .  
 This is geff." <sup>2</sup> ? hir

And how thidir come / vn-to vs vnwist,  
 As thyng fro fer / vnknowen in the mist." 418  
 And ther-with / to this womman fraudulent,  
 "To sleepe," he seide / "haue I good talent; 420 and says he wants  
 to sleep

(61)

"Let see," quod he / "strecche out anoon thy lappe,<sup>1</sup> [leaf 87, back]  
 In which wole I myn heed doun leye and reste." 422 on her lap.  
 ¶ So was it doon / and he anoon gan nappe : He does so.  
 Nappe! nay / he sleep / right wel atte beste.  
 What dooth this womman / oon the fikileste 425  
 Of wommen alle / but þat clooth þat lay Fellicula pulls  
 Vndir him / shee drow lyte & lyte away. 427 the Cloth from  
 under him,

(62)

Whan shee it had al / "wolde god," quod shee, 428 wishes herself  
 at home,  
 "I were as I was this day morwenynge."  
 And ther-with / this roote of iniquitee and is at once  
 carried there.  
 Had hir wissþ / and soul lefte him ther slepyng.  
 ¶ "O Ionathas, lyke to thy perisshynge 432  
 Art thou / thy paramour maad hath thy berd ;  
 Whan thow wakist / cause hast thow to be ferd ; 434 (Jonathas, you're  
 trickt;

(63)

"But thou shalt do ful wel / thow shalt ohteene 435 but you shall  
 yet win,  
 Victorie on hire / thow haast doon sum deede  
 Plesant to thy modir / wel can I weene,  
 ffor which our lord god / qwyte shal thy meede,  
 And thee deliure out of thy woful dreede. 439  
 The chyld / whom þat the modir vsith blesse,  
 fful often sythe is esid in distresse." 441 because your  
 mother has  
 blest you.)

(64)

Whan he awook / and neithir he ne fond 442 [leaf 88]  
 Womman ne clooth / he wepte bittirly,  
 And seide, "allas / now is ther in no lond  
 Man werse, I trowe, begoon / than am y!"  
 On euery syde his lookþ he caste, and sy 446  
 He wakes, and  
 finde neither  
 his paramour  
 nor his Cloth.

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at top: 'Recognise . . Dr.'



Nothing but briddes / in the air fleyng,  
And wylde beestes / aboute him rennyng. 448

(65)

Of whos sighte / he ful sore was agrysid : 449  
Jonathas re-  
proaches himself He thoghite / " al this wel disserued y haue.  
What eilid me to be so euel auysid,  
That my Conseil / kowde I nat keepe & saue ?  
for having playd  
the fool by trust-  
ing his secret  
to a woman. Who can fool pleye / who can madde or raue, 453  
But he þat to a womman his secree  
Deskeuereþ / the smert cleueth now on me." 455

(66)

¶ He thens departed / as god wolde harmlees, 456  
He starts, And fourth of aenture his way is went,  
But whidirward he drow / he conceitlees  
Was / he nat kneew / to what place he was bent.  
and goes through  
a hot lake that  
burns the flesh  
off his feet. He paste a watir / which was so feruent 460  
þat flessþ vp-on his feet / lefte it him noon ;  
Al cleene was departid fro the boon. 462

(67)

¶ It shoop so þat he had a lytil glas, 463  
[leaf 88, back] Which, with þat watir / anoon filled he ;  
He fills a glass  
with this water, And whan he ferthere in his way goon was,  
Before him he beheeld and sy a tree  
and then eats  
some fruit which  
turns him into  
a leper. þat fair fruyt baar / and þat in greet plentee : 467  
He eet ther-of / the taast him lykid wel,  
But he ther-thurgh becam a foul mesel ; 469

(68)

ffor which, vn-to the ground, for sorwe & wo 470  
He curses the day  
he was born, He fil / and seide / " cursid be þat day  
þat I was born / and tyme and hour also  
þat my modir conceyued me / for ay  
Now am I lost / allas and weleaway ! " 474  
And whan sumdel slakid his heuynesse,  
but walks on. He roos / and on his way he gan him dresse. 476

(69)

¶ An othir watir before him he sy,	477	He then comes to another lake,
Which for to comen in he was adrad ;		
But natheles / syn ther by / othir way,		
Ne aboute it / ther kowde noon been had :		
He thogh̄te / "so streytly am I bystad,	481	
þat thogh̄ it sore me affese or gaste,		
Assaye it wole I" / and thurgh̄ it he paste.	483	

(70)

And right as the firste watir his fless̄h <sup>1</sup>	484	[leaf 89] and its water restores the flesh of his feet.
Departed from his feet : so the secownde		
Restored it / and made al hool and fress̄h.		
And glad was he, and ioieful þat stownde		
Whan he felte his feet hoole were and sownde.	488	
A viole of the watir of þat brooke		
He filde / & fruyt of the tree w <sup>it</sup> h him tooke.	490	He fills a phial with it, and takes some of the leper- fruit.

(71)

ffoorth his iourneye this Ionathas heeld ;	491	
And as þat he his looke aboute him caste,		
An-othir tree from a-fer he byheeld,		
To which he haastid and him hyed faste :		
Hungry he was / and of the fruyt he thraste	495	Then he eats the fruit of another tree, and that cures his leprosy.
In-to his mowth / and eet of it sadly,		
And of the leepre / he pouregd was ther-by.	497	

(72)

Of þat fruyt more he raghte / & thens is goon ;	498	He gathers some of it,
And a fair Castel from a-fer sy he,		
In compas of which / heedes many oon		
Of men ther heeng / as he mighte wel see ;		
But nat for þat / he shone nolde or flee ;	502	
He thidirward him dressith the streight way,		and walks to a Castle.
In al þat euere þat he can or may.	504	

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble at side : "This biit made the x (? v) daye of maye In the fy[r]st year of the rayne of kyng" . . . "Thomas" (8 times).

?a1430 (?c1425)

(73)

[leaf 99, back]	Walkynge so / two men cam him ageyn, <sup>1</sup>	505
Two men tell him that	And seiden thus / "deere freend, we yow preye, What man be yee" ¶ "Sires," quod he certeyn, A leech I am / and thogh myself it seye, Can for the helthe of seeke folke wel purueye."	509
the King of the Castle is a leper,	¶ They seide him / "of yondir Castel, the kyng A leepre is / and can hool be for no thyngt."	511

(74)

and kills all the doctors who can't cure him.	"With him ther hath been many a sundry leech þat vndertooke / him for to cure and hele On peyne of hire heedes / but al to seeche Hire art was / waar / þat thow nat with him dele, But if thow canst the chartre of helthe ensele, Lest þat thow thyn heed leese / as diden they. But thow be wys / thow fynde it shalt no pley."	512 516 518
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(75)

Jonathas says	¶ "Sires," seide he / "yow thanke I of your reed, ffor gentilly yee han yow to me qwit ; But I nat dreede to leese myn heed ; By goddes help / ful sauf keepe I wole it, God, of his grace, swich konnyng & wit	519 523
he can cure the King.	hath lent me / þat I hope I shal him cure ; fful wel dar I me putte in auenture."	525

(76)

[leaf 90]	They to the kynges presence han him lad ; <sup>2</sup>	526
He gives the King fruit of the 2nd tree,	And him, of the fruyt of the second tree He yaf to ete / & bad him to be glad, And seide anon / "your helthe han shul yee."	
and water of the 2nd lake,	Eeke of the second watir, him, yaf he	530
and cures him of his leprosy.	To drynke / and whan he tho two had receyued, His leepre from him / voided was & weyued.	532

<sup>1</sup> Scribble at top, "Item."  
<sup>2</sup> Scribble at top and side: "d d d d . . and he idil . . .  
 And wise . . Thomas . . Thomas," &c.

(77)

¶ The kyng / as vn-to his hy dignitee	533	The King pays Jonathas well.
Conuenient was / yaf him largely,		
And to him seide : " if þat it lyke thee,		
Abyden heere / I more habundantly		
Thee yeue wole " ¶ " my lord, sikirly,"	537	
Quod he / " fayn wolde I your pleisir fulfiH,		
And in your hy presence abyde stille ;	539	

(78)

But I no whyle may with yow abyde,	540	
So mochil haue I to doone elles where."		
¶ Ionathas euery day to the See syde		Jonathas walks seaward,
Which was ny / wente / to looke & enquire		
If any ship drawynge thidir were,	544	
Which him hoom to his Contree lede mighte.		
And on a day, of shippes had he sighte,	546	

(79)

Wel / a xxx <sup>th</sup> . toward the Castel drawe ; <sup>1</sup>	547	[leaf 90, back]
And atte tyme of euen-song they aH		
Arryueden / of which he was ful fawe ;		
And to the Shipmen crie he gan & caH,		
And seide / " if it so happe mighte & faH	551	and asks the Captains of 30 ships, who can take him home.
þat some of yow, me hoom to my Contree		
Me brynge wolde / wel qwit sholde he be ;"	553	

(80)

And tolde hem whidir / þat they sholden go.	554	
¶ Oon of the shipmen fourth stirte atte laste,		One agrees to do so.
And to him seide / " my ship, and no mo		
Of hem þat heere been / hem shape & caste		
Thidir to weende / Let see / teH on faste,"	558	
Quod the Shipman / " þat thou for my trauaiH		
Me yeue wilt / if þat I thidir saiH."	560	

<sup>1</sup> Scribble in margin : "Thomas . . Thomas . . Thomas . . Thomas."

(81)

	They were accorded / Ionathas foorth gooth	561
	Vn-to the kyng / to axe of him licence	
	To twynne thens / to which the kyng was looth ;	
The King agrees.	And nathelees, with his beneuolence,	
	This Ionathas from his magnificence	565
Jonathas	Departed is / and foorth to the Shipman	
	his way he takith / as swythe as he can.	567

(82)

[leaf 91]	In-to the ship he entriþ / & as blyue	568
sets sail,	As wynd and wedir, good shoop for to be,	
	Thidir as he purposid him arryue,	
and lands at the city where the serpentine Felli- cula is.	They saillid foorth / & cam to the Citee	
	In which this serpentyn womman was / shee	572
	That had him terned with false deceitis ;	
	But where no remedie folwith / streit is ;	574

(83)

	Tornes been qwit / al be they goode or badde,	575
	Suntyme / thogh they put been in delay.	
She thinks he's been eaten by wild beastes ;	¶ But to my purpos / shee deemed he hadde	
	Been deuoured with beestes many a day	
	Goon / shee thoghþe / he deliured was for ay.	579
and he's so changed that no one knows him.	ffolke of the Citæe / kneew nat Ionathas,	
	So many a yeer was past / þat he ther was ;	581

(84)

	Mislykyng & thoghþ / changed eek his face.	582
	Abouten he gooth / and for his dwellynge	
	In the Citæe / he hyred him a place,	
He sets up as a physician,	And ther-in excercysid his konnyng	
	Of phisyke / to whom weren repeiryng	586
and cures many sick folk.	Many a seeke wight / and aþ were helid ;	
	wel was the seek man / þat with him hath delid ! <sup>1</sup>	588

<sup>1</sup> Later scribble in the margin: "In the . . . h . . . I . . . h . . . k . . ." (each repeated). "This bill made the . . . k k . . . viz . . . This bill made . . . This byll made the v day of maye. This biþ . . . Romane."

(85)

Now sloop it thus / þat this Fellicula—	589	[leaf 91, back]
The welle of deceyuable doublenesse,		Fellicula
ffolwere of the steppes of dalida—		
Was thanne exaltat vn-to hy richesse,		
But shee was fallen in-to greet seeknesse,	593	had fallen ill,
And herde seyn / for nat mighte it been hid,		
How maistreful a leche he had him kid :	595	

(86)

Messages solempne to him she sente,	596	and sends for
Preyyngge him to do so mochil labour		Jonathas.
As come and seen hire / and he thidir wente.		
Whan he hir sy / þat shee his paramour		
had been, he wel kneew / and for þat, dettour	600	
To hire he was / hire he thoghite to qwyte		
Or he wente / & no lengere it respyte ;	602	

(87)

But what þat he was / shee ne wiste nat.	603	
He sy hire vryne / & eeke felte hir pous,		He looks at her
And seide / " the soothe is this, pleyn & plat :		urine, feels her
A seeknesse han yee strange & merueillous,		pulse,
Which for to voide / is wondir dangerous ;	607	
To hele yow / ther is no way but oon ;		and says there's
Leche in this world / othir can fynde noon :	609	only one way to
		cure her.

(88)

" Auysith yow / whethir yow list it take <sup>1</sup>	610	[leaf 92]
Or nat / for y told haue yow my wit."		
¶ " A, Sire," seide shee / " for goddes sake,		She declares she'll
þat way me shewe / and y shal folwen it,		follow it, what-
What-euere it be / for this seeknesse sit	614	ever it is.
So ny myn herte / þat y woot nat how		
Me to demene / telle on, preye y yow."	616	

<sup>1</sup> Later, at top : " Ceste lettire fait le trouesme Ioure de aoulte entre Iames et moye Poir du vinge 33<sup>ll</sup> 39<sup>e</sup> et demi et quoy et fouct farre, &c (f)." At side : " This biit made the xx<sup>d</sup> day of may In the fy[r]st yere of the rayne of."

(89)

Jonathas says she must confesse if she's stolen any thing,	"Lady, yee muste openly yow confesse ; And if ageyn good conscience & right, Any good han yee take, more or lesse, Beforn this hour of any maner wight,	617
and must restore it;	yilde it anoon / elles nat in the might Of man is it / to yeue a medecyne þat yow may hele of your seeknesse & pyne.	621 623

(90)

then she'll be well again.	" If any swich thyng be / telle out, y rede ; And yee shul been al hool, y yow byheete ; Elles myn art is naght, withouten dreede." " O lord," shee thoghþite / helthe is a thyng ful sweete ; Therwith desire y souerainly to meete. Syn y it by confessioun may rekeuere, A fool am I, but I my gilt deskeuere."	624 628 630
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(91)

[leaf 92, back] She confesses how she robd Jonathas.	How falsly to the sone of themperour Ionathas / had shee doon / before hem aþ, As yee han herd aboue / al þat errour Bykneew shee / o Fellicula, thee caþ Wel may y so / for of the bittir gaþ Thow takist the begynnyng of thy name, Thow roote of malice / and mirour of shame !	631 635 637
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(92)

His Jewels are in a cofre at the foot of her bed.	¶ Than seide Ionathas / " where arn tho three Iewelles / þat yee fro the Clerk withdraw ?" ¶ " Sire, in a Cofre / at my beddes feet yee Shul fynde hem / opne it / and see, preye y yow." He thoghþite nat to make it qweynte and tow, And seye nay / and streyne courtesie, But with right good wil / thidir he gan hyc.	638 642 644
---------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------

(93)

The Cofre he opned / and hem there fond. <sup>1</sup>	645	Jonathas finds his Jewels there,
Who was a glad man but Ionathas, who ?		
The ryng vp-on a fyngir of his hond		puts the Ring on his finger,
he putte / and the brooch on his brest also ;		the Brooch on his chest,
The clooth eeke vndir his arm heeld he tho,	649	and the Cloth under his arm.
And to hire him dressith / to doon his cure,		
Cure mortal / way to hir sepulture.	651	

(94)

he thogh̃te, reewe shee sholde, and forthynke <sup>2</sup>	652	[leaf 93]
þat shee hire hadde vn-to him mis bore ;		
And of þat watir hire he yaf to drynke,		In revenge, he gives Fellicula the hot water
Which þat his flesh / from his bones before		
had twynned / wherthurgh he was almost lore,	656	
Nad he releued been / as yee aboue		
Han herd / and this he dide eeke for hir loue.	658	

(95)

Of the fruyt of the tree he yaf hire ete,	659	and the leper- fruit.
Which þat him made in-to the leepre sterte ;		
And as blyue in hir wombe gan they frete		
And gnawe so / þat change gan hire herte.		
Now herkneth / how it hire made smerte :	663	They burst her belly open, and her bowels fall out.
Hir wombe opned / and out fil eche entraille		
That in hire was / thus seith the booke sanz faiH.	665	

(96)

Thus wrecchidly, lo / this gyle [wo]man <sup>3</sup> dyde ;	666	
And Ionathas, wit/ tho Iewelles three,		Jonathas, with his 3 Jewels,
No lengere there thogh̃te to abyde,		

<sup>1</sup> "leyenge" added by a later hand. In the margin are also, "Louyng brother, I dan (?) . . my haryly cuddyr (?) . . p . . all . . ifand . . stoope . . . This ys Jamys."

<sup>2</sup> Later, at top: "This bill made the xvij daye of maye In the fy[r]st years of the Rayne of kyng Edwarde the syxt, by the grace of god, of Ingland, france, and yrelond, kyng."

<sup>3</sup> 'guile-y woman died' it must be ; not 'this guile, man did.'



?91430 (?c1425)

goes back to his  
Mother,  
and lives in joy  
till he dies.

But hoom to themperice, his modir, hastith he,  
Where as in ioie and in prosperitee 670  
his lyf ledde he / to his dyynge day :  
And so god vs graunte þat we do may ! 672

Amen.

[Moralization.]

[leaf 93, back]  
The Emperour  
is God.  
The first Son  
is the Angels.

**T**hemperour þat y spake of aboue, is oure lord god,  
þat hath .iiij. sones. ¶ By the firste sone, we  
shul vndirstonde Angels / to whiche / god yaf swich  
confirmacion þat they may nat synne / for aftir þat the  
wikkid Angels fillen: the goode angels so sadly weren  
adherent to god, and by him so confermed / þat they  
mighten nat synne. ¶ By the second sone, we shul  
vndirstonde Patriarks and Prophetes / to whiche god  
yaf and bytook the olde lawe / þat is to seye, the lawe  
of Moyses / which was meuable / for it changid by the  
comynge of Cryst / ¶ To the .iiij. sone, this Emperour  
yaf the Iewelles / þat is to seyn, the ryng / the brooch  
& the clooth / ¶ By the ryng þat is rownd / We shul  
vndirstande feith / which is rownd, withouten obliquitee  
or crookidnesse / and who-so hath the ryng of verray  
feith / he shal haue the loue of god and of his angels.

The 2nd Son  
is the Patriarchs  
and Prophets.

The 3rd Son  
is Man.

The Ring is  
Faith.

¶ Si habueritis  
fidem sicut gra-  
num synapis &c

¶ Where-of our Sauueour spekith and seith thus: ¶ " If  
yee haue as mochil feith as is the greyn of Senefee ;  
yee shuln mowe seye to this hil, passe & go / and it  
shal passe " / & therefore he þat hath the ryng of verray  
feith: he shal haue al thying at his lust and plesance.

[ leaf 94 ]

The Brooch is  
the Holy Ghost.  
¶ Mittam vobis  
paracletum &c

¶ God yaf also to the Cristen man a brooch / þat is to  
seyn, the holy goost / and seyde / " I shal sende to yow  
the holy goost / & he shal telle and informe yow of al  
þat y seye " / and if we haue the holy goost in oure  
hertes / withouten doute we shul han aH goodes þat  
profyten to the helthe of soule / ¶ Also god yaf to the

ref.  
Use "f."

ref. Uee  
"f."

XIV. MORALIZATION OF THE STORY OF JONATHAS.

Cristen man the .iiij<sup>de</sup> Iewel / þat is to seyn, the precious  
clooth / this clooth is parfyt charitee / which god  
shewid vs in the Crois / he loued vs so mochil þat he  
deide for vs / to brynge vs to eternal blisse / therefore  
who-so sitteth vp-on parfyt charitee: dowtelees he shal  
be translated out of this world / vn-to perpetuel reste.

The Cloth is  
perfect Charity.

¶ The seid Ionathas may be clept a Cristen man /  
which is sliden or fallen in-to synne. ¶ His paramour,  
þat is to seyn, his wrecchid flessþ, cometh to him and  
meetith him / stiryng him to synne / and so he leesith  
the ryng of feith / which he receyued & tooke in his  
bapteme. ¶ Also the brooch, þat is to seyn, the holy  
goost, fleeth from hym by cause of his synne. ¶ The  
clooth eek is with<sup>1</sup>drawen from him, þat is to seye,  
parfyt charitee / as<sup>2</sup> often as he consentith to synne /  
and thus the wrecchid man dwellith or abydyth with-  
outen help among beestes / þat is to seyn / with the  
feend / the world and the flessþ. ¶ Do therefore as  
dide Ionathas. ¶ Ryse vp fro thy synne, ryse vp / for  
al to longe haast thou slept in the lappe of carnalitee  
or flessþlyhede / as it is writen: ¶ "Aryse vp thou  
þat sleepest, and y shal enlumyne thee." ¶ Right so  
Sampson slepte in the lappe of Dalida, and loste his  
strengthe. ¶ Ionathas roos and entred in-to the watir  
of penance / which twynneth and disseuerith the flessþ,  
þat is to seyn, flessþly affeccions / ¶ Aftirward he eet  
of the fruyt of sharpnesse / which changed his cheere  
in-to the manere of a lepre / as it is red of Cryst:  
¶ "we sy him as hauynge no chiere or contenance."  
¶ Right so of the soule, which is in bittirnesse for the  
wroght offense and synne. ¶ wher-of it is seid in the  
figure and liknesse of the soule: ¶ "Blake y am, but y

The Paramour is  
man's wretched  
flesh.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 94, back]

¶ Surge qui dor-  
mis, & illuminabo  
te &c

The hot Water  
is Penance.

The 1st tree's fruit  
is Sharpness.

¶ Vidimus eum  
tamquam vultum  
non habentem &c

<sup>2</sup> Later, at top: "Radufus Wilcokes." "Ihesus,  
"Ihesus, haue mercy vppon vs and this Inglishie nacyon,  
which hath bene of christs flock an habitacioñ."

At foot: "Thomas, late Pokes Walere (?)" and some French,  
upside down.

¶ Nigra sum, set  
formosa &c  
The 2nd Water  
is the Holy  
Communion.

[1 leaf 95]

¶ Ego sum fons;  
qui bibert &c

The fruit of  
the 2nd tree is  
Reason.

The Ship is the  
Church.

The Home is  
the Kingdom of  
Heaven.

Little poem,  
beg Lady West-  
morland

to receive you  
as her right,  
and try to please  
her.

am fair" / þat is to seyn, blake in body, and fair in soule. ¶ Ionathas entred the second watir, which restored al, &c. ¶ This watir is the holy communion aftir penitence, ¶ Wher-of spake oure <sup>1</sup>Sauueur: <sup>2</sup> ¶ "I am the well / who-so drynkith of þat watir, he shal nat thriste ageyn." ¶ Aftir, this Ionathas eet of the fruyt of the second tree, which restored al þat was lost, þat is to seyn, whan man is glorified in eternal lyf, and helith the kyng, þat is to seyn, resoun. and so he entrith the ship of the chirche / and to his paramour, þat is to seyn, his flessĥ, he purueieth watir of contricioun & fruyt of penance and sharpnesse / for which the flessĥ / þat is to seyn, carnel or flessĥly affeccion, sterueth and dieth / and the man purchaceth & getith by penitence the goodes þat were lost / and so he gooth in to his Contree, þat is to seyn, the Regne of heuene: to which, god of his grace brynge vs aH. Amen!

Go, smal book' / to the noble excellence  
Of my lady / of Westmerland / and seye,  
Hir humble seruant / with al reuerence  
Him recommandith vn-to hir nobleye;  
And byseeche hire / on my behalue, & preye,  
Thee to receyue / for hire owne right;  
And looke thow / in al manere weye  
To plese hir wommanhede / do thy might.

Humble seruant }  
to your gracious }  
noblesse }

T: Hoccleue.

At foot, later, "Perlegi 1666."

<sup>2</sup> Later, at top: "Vnto the gloryous Resurreccyon of the Body and the lyfe Euer lastyng." At side "radulfus Wilcoke . . honerif isnilitatibus . . But, the sayd def (t)."

ref.  
Use "p."

Sunnecom. I am the Bell. Who so drinketh  
 of it. he shal not thurst again. After  
 the fourthet of the fruit of the second tree  
 which restored al þat was lost þis is to seyn. When  
 man is gloufied in eternal lyf and helth the lyng  
 þis is to seyn. yfow. and so he enyeth the strap of  
 the churche. and to his paine þis is to seyn his flessh  
 he pynnereth. Oury. of contricion & fruit of  
 penance and sharynesse. for which the flessh  
 þis is to seyn. carnal or flesshly affection pynnereth  
 and deth. and the man purchaceth & geteth by  
 penance the gooder þat Ouyr left. and so he gooth  
 in to his contree þis is to seyn the Regne of heuene.  
 to which god of his grace byngre us all Amen  
 of h

I sende you this noble excellence  
 of my lady of Westmeland and here  
 my humble puaunt with al reverence and in  
 this recomanderth. In to my noblye  
 And byseeche hys. on my behalve of grace  
 as the to receyve for his owne right  
 And looke the Ouyr al manere wyse  
 I praye hys. Remaunde us in my might

Humble puaunt  
 to your excellent  
 noblesse  
 J. H.



## NOTES.

## I.

Extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (Mai 1399).—Œuvres Poétiques de C. de P. publiées par Maurice Roy. ii. 1—27. Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, 1891.

[The nos. of the English lines are on the left ; those of the French on the right.]

1	Cupido, roy par la grace de lui, Dieu des amans, sans aide de nullui	1
2	Regnant en l'air du ciel très reluisant	
5	Filz de Venus la deesse poissant, Sire d'amours et de tous ses obgiez,	4
6	A tous nos vrais loiaux servans subgiez,	
7	Salut, Amour, Familiarité !	
8	Savoir faisons en generalité	8
11	Qu'a nostre Court sont venues complaints Par devant nous, et moult piteuses plaintes	
9	De par toutes dames et damoiselles,	
10	Gentilz femmes, bourgoises et pucelles, Et de toutes femmes generaument, Nostre secours requerant humblement . . .	12 14
11	Si se plaignent les dessusdittes dames,	17
12	Des grans extors, . . des oultrages très griefs, Que chascun jour des desloiaux reçoivent, Qui les blasment, diffament et deçoivent.	20
15-16	Sur tous país se complaignent de France . . .	23
18	Car a present sont plusieurs chevaliers Et escuiers mains duis et costumiers	33
21	D'elles traÿr par beaulx blandissemens.	
18	Si se faignent estre loiaux amans	36
21	Et se cueuvrent de diverse faintise ;	
22-5	Si vont disant que griefment les atise L'amour d'elles, qui leur cuer tient en serre, Dont l'un se plaint, a l'autre le cuer serre,	40
19, 22	L'autre pleuré par semblant et souspire,	
25	Et l'autre faint que trop griefment empire	
23	Par trop amer tout soit descoulouré,	
28	Et presque mort et tout alangoré,	44
29	Et jurent fort, et promettent et mentent	
33	Estre loiaux, secrez, et puis s'en vantent . . .	46
41	Ainsi, se trop ne sont aperçues,	99
42	Sont maintes fois les dames deceües.	
41	Car simples sont, n'y pensent se bien non,	

244 *Christine de Pisan's "L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours."*

	Dont il avient souvent, veullent ou non,	102
42	Qu'amer leur fault ceulz qui si les deçoivent,	
49	Traïes sont ains qu'elles l'aperçoivent.	104
50-1	Mais quant ainsi sont fort envelopées,—	105
57	Les desloiaulz qui les ont attrapées, Or escoutez comment ilz s'en chevissent :	
59	Ne leur souffist ce qu'ainsi les trahissent,	108
57	Ains ont compains de leur male alliance ;	
62	Si n'y remaint ne fait ne couvenance	
63	Qui ne soit dit l'un a l'autre, et, trop plus Qu'ilz n'ont de bien, se vantent que reclus	112
68	Sont devenus en la chambre leurs dames Dont sont amez ; puis jurent corps et ames Comment du fait il leur est avenu,	
68	Et que couché braz a braz y ont nu . . .	116
78	Mais s'aucunes attraient en tel guise,	537
80	Quel merveille? Ne fu pas, par faintise,	
82	Par faultz consaulz, par traïson bastie, Par parlemens, engins et foy mentie,	540
81	La grant cité de Troye jadis prise,	
83	Qui tant fu fort, et toute en feu esprise ? Et tous les jours par engins et desrois	542
85	Ne traïst on et royaumes et roys ? . . .	544
	Et fust ores malicieuse et sage	551
	Si n'est ce pas en ce grant vasselage	.
89	A homme agu, de grant malice plein,	
90	Qui peine y met comme il en est tout plein.	554
99	La rigolent l'un l'autre, et par reprochies S'entredient: " Je sçay bien de tes fais,	126
100	" Telle est t'amie, et tu le jolis fais	
102-8	" Pour sienne amour ; mais pluseurs y ont part ;	
104-5	" Tu es receu quant un autre s'en part." "	130
	Et puis après s'en moquent et s'en vantent,	531
110	Et vont disant que femmes se consentent	
127	Legierement, com legieres et fraïlles,	
111	Et qu'on ne doit avoir fiance en elles . . .	534
113	La diffament les envieux la belle	131
115	Sanz achoïson, ne nul mal savoir d'elle ; Et lors celui qui en est rigolé Monstre semblant qu'il en soit adoulés . . .	134
120	Si en y a qui se sont mis en peine	147
121	Qu'on les amast, mais perdu ont leur peine ;	
122-3	Si sont honteux dont ilz sont refusé ;	
124	Ne veulent pas qu'on croie que musé	150
	Ayent en vain, pour ce de ce se vantent	
126	Qu'oncques n'avint . . .	
134	Et quel profit vient d'ainsi diffamer	165
135	A ceulz meïsmes qui se deussent armer	
136	Pour les garder, et leur honneur deffendre ?	
138	Car tout homme doit avoir le cuer tendre	

174	Envers femme qui a tout homme est mere . . .	169
148	Et supposé qu'il en y ait de nyces . . .	185
150	Ou remplies de plusieurs divers vices,	
151	Sanz foy, n'amour, ne nulle loiaulté,	
153	Fieres, males, plaines de cruaulté,	
149	Ou pou constans, legieres, variables,	
152	Cautelleuses, fausses et decevables,	190
154	Doit on pour tant toutes mettre en fremaille, Et tesmoignier qu'il n'est nulle qui vaille ?	
155	Quant le hault Dieu fist et forma les angelz . . .	193
156-7	N'en y ot il de mauvais en leurs fais ?	195
160	Doit on pour tant angelz nommer mauvais ? . . .	196
169	Par ces preuves justes et veritables Je conclus que tous hommes raisonnables	721
170	Doivent femmes prisier, cherir, amer,	
175	Et ne doivent avoir cuer de blasmer	
174	Elles de qui tout homme est descendu . . .	725
190	Si se plaingent les dessusdittes dames	259
191	De plusieurs clers qui sus leur mettent blasmes, Dittiez en font, rimes, proses et vers,	
192	En diffamant leurs meurs par moz divers . . .	262
197	En vers dient, Adam, David, Sanson,	267
199	Et Salemon et autres a foison,	
198	Furent deceuz par femme main et tart;	
202	Et qui sera donc li homs qui s'en gart ? . . .	270
204	Ovide en dit, en un livre qu'il fist,	281
206	Assez de maualz, dout je tiens qu'il meffist,	
204-5	Qu'il appella le "Remede d'amours,"	
205	On leur met sus moult de villaines mours, Ordes, laides, pleines de villenie . . .	285
	Si ont les clers appris très leur enfance	291
211	Cellui livret en premiere science De gramaire, et aux autres l'aprenent	
213	A celle fin qu'a femme amer n'emprenent.	
219	Mais de ce sont folz, et perdent leur peine,	295
220	Ne l'empeschier, si n'est fors chose vaine.	
221	Car, entre moy et ma dame Nature,	
222	Ne souffrerons, tant com le monde dure,	298
224	Que cheries et amées ne soient,	
232	Malgré touz ceulz qui blasmer les voudroient, Et qu'a plusieurs meismes qui plus les blasment	
234	N'ostent les cuers, et ravissent et emblent . . .	302
225	Et aucuns sont qui iadis en mes las	495
227	Furent tenus, mais il sont d'amer las,	
226	Ou par vieillece ou deffaulte de cuer,	
227	Si ne veulent plus amer a nul fuer, Et convenant m'ont de tous poins nyé,	
230	Moy et mon fait guerpy et renié	500
231	Comme mauvais serviteurs et rebelles.	
228	Et telle gent racontent telz nouvelles Communement, et se plainnent, et blasment	
232	Moy et mon fait, et les femmes diffament . . .	504
	Si hé tel gent trop plus qu'autre riens, certes	509



246 *Christine de Pisan's "L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours."*

234	Et les paye souvent de leurs dessertes ;	
	Car, en despit de leurs males paroles,	
236	Eulx assorter d'aucunes femmes foles,	512
237,262	De pou d'onneur, males, maurenommées,	
239	Je fais yceulz : de tel gent sont amées . . .	514
	La sont surpris et bien envelopé	517
	Ceulz qui les mieulx cuident estre eschappé.	
263	Comme il affiert sunt tel gent avoyé ;	
245	Si leur est bien tel meschief employé . . .	520
246	D'autres pluseurs, et meismement Ovide	321
	Qui tant en vout, puis diffamier les cuide ;	
247	Et tous les clers, qui tant en ont parlé,	
252	Plus qu'autre gens en furent affolé,	
259	Non pas d'une seule mais d'un millier. . .	325
274	Li autres dit que moult sont decevables,	271
275	Cautilleuses, faulses et pou valables.	
	Autres dient que trop sont mençongieres,	
279	Variables, inconstans et legieres . . .	274
	. . . . .	
	Et meismement pouète si soubtil	387
	Comme Ovide, qui puis fu en exil,	
281-3	Et Jehan de Meun ou Romant de la Rose,	
286	Quel long procès ! quel difficile chose ! . . .	390
287	Pour decevoir sanz plus une pucelle . . .	395
291	A foible lieu faut il donc grant assault ?	397
	Comment peut on de près faire grand saut ?	
	Je ne sçay pas ce veoir ne comprendre	
296-7	Que grant peine faille a foible lieu prendre,	400
289	Ne art, n'engin, ne grant soubtiveté.	
295	Dont convient il tout de necessité,	
296	Puis qu'art convient, grant engin et grant peine,	
297	A decevoir femme noble ou villaine,	404
298	Qu'elz ne soient mie si variables,	
299	Comme aucun dit, n'en leur fait si muables <sup>1</sup> . .	406
302	Que fut jadis Medée au faulz Jason ?	437
303	Trés loialle, et lui fist la toison	
304	D'or conquerir par son engin soubtil,	
	Dont il acquist loz plus qu'autres cent mil . . .	440
308	Par elle fu renommé dessus tous,	441
	Si lui promist que loial ami doulz	
307	Seroit tout sien, mais sa foy lui menti,	
	Et la laissa pour autre, et s'en parti	444
311	Que fu Dido, royne de Cartage,	
	De grant amour et de loial corage,	
309	Vers Eneas qui, exillé de Troye,	
	Aloit par mer las, despris et sanz joye,	448
312	Presque pery, lui et ses chevaliers ?	
	Recueilli fu, dont lui estoit mestiers	
310	De la belle, qu'il faussement deçut . . . .	451
315	Dont a la fin celle, pour s'amistié	459

<sup>1</sup> Hoccleve wisely leaves out Christine's retort that the books against them weren't written by women (609-10); had they been (416), things ud have been differently put.

Morut de dueil, dont ce fu grant pitié.	460
Si trouvera, se vient a droit jugier,	643
330 Que le plus grant mal puet pou dommager :	
331 N'occient gent, ne blescent, ne mahignent, Ne traions ne pourchacent n'empregnent,	
334 Feu ne boutent, ne desheritent gent,	
335 N'empoisonnent, n'emblent or ne argent, Ne deçoivent d'avoir ne d'eritage,	648
336 N'en faulz contrus, et ne portent damage	
333 Aux royaumes, aux duchies, n'aux empires ; Mal ne s'ensuit gaires, meismes des pères . . . .	652
. . . . elles n'ont pas les cuers	670
Enclins ad ce, ne a cruauté faire ;	
337-40 Car nature de femme est debonnaire, [See also 168-178.]	
346 Moult piteuse, paourouse et doubttable,	
345 Humble, douce, coye, et moult charitable,	674
347 Amiable, devote, en payz honteuse,	
346 Et guerre craint, simple et religieuse,	
341 Et en courroux tost apaise son yre . . . .	677
361 . . . . mais du decevement	608
351-7 Dont on blasme dame Eve nostre mere,	
354 Dont s'ensuivi de Dieu sentence amere,	610
365-6 Je di pour vray qu'oncq Adam ne deçut,	
364 Et simplement de l'anemi conçu	
363 La parole qu'il lui donna a croire, Si li cuida estre loial et voire, En celle foy de lui dire s'avance ;	614
367 Si ne fut donc fraude ne decepvance Car simplece, sanz malice celée,	
367 Ne doit estre decepvance appellée.	618
372 Nul ne deçoit sanz cuidier decepvoir,	
371 Ou autrement decepvance n'est voir.	620
374-5 Quelz grans maulz donc en pevent estre diz ? Par desservir n'ont elles paradis ?	
375 De quelz crismes les peut on accuser ? . . .	623
Mais, qui qu'en ait mesdit ou mal escript	559
435 Je ne truis pas en livre n'en escript	
437 Qui de Jhesus parle, ou de sa vie,	
436 Ou de sa mort pourchacée d'envie . . .	562
444 N'euvangile qui nul mal en tesmoigne, Mais maint grant bien, mainte haulte besoigne,	565
447 Grant prudence, grant sens, et grant constance, Parfaite amour, en foy grant arrestance, Grant charité . . . et grant semblant en firent,	569, 71
438 Car, mort ne vif, oncque ne le guerpirent.	
442 Fors des femmes fu de tous delaissié Le doulz Jhesus, navré, mort et blecié.	
443 Toute la foy remaint en une femme . . . .	575
450 Et se j'ay dit d'elles bien et louenge,	759
451 Comme il est vray, ne l'ay fait par losange	
452 N'a celle fin que plus orgueil en aient,	
453 Mais tout a fin que toudis elles soyent	
454 Curieuses de mieulz en mieulz valoir,	

248 *Christine de Pisan's "L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours."*

	Sanz les vices que l'en ne doit avoir ;	764
456	Car qui plus a grant vertu et bonté, En doit estre moins d' orgueil surmonté,	
457-8	Car les vertus si enchacent les vices. Et, s'il est des femmes aucunes nyces, Cest' Epistre leur puist estre dotrine, Le mal laissent ; les bonnes vueillent en ce	768
454	Prendre vouloir d' auoir perseverence,	772
455, 62	Si aront preu, grant honneur, joye et los Et Paradis a la fin, dire l'os.	774
463	Pour ce conclus en diffinicion,	
466-7	Que des mauvais soit fait punicion Qui les blasment . . . si soient tuit	776 777, 779
468	De nostre Court chacié, bani, destruit . . . .	780
464	ET COMMANDONS de fait a no maisnie	784
465	Generaument et a noz officiers . . . .	785
466	. . . . que tous ceuz maubaillis Et villenez soient très laidement	788
467	Injuriez, punis honteusement . . . .	790
470	Accompli soit sanz faire aucun delais.	795
472-3	DONNÉ en l'air, en nostre grant palais, Le jour de May la solempnée feste	
474	Ou les amans nous font mainte requeste,	
475	L' An de grace Mil trois cens quate vins Et dix et neuf, present dieux et divins . . . .	800
	CREINTIS [= Cristine].	
	Explicit l' Epistre au dieu d' amours.	828

## II.

## LETTER OF CUPID, p. 72—91.

COLLATION OF THE ASHBURNHAM MS 53, & SHIRLEY'S  
MS TRIN. COLL. CAMB. R. 3. 20, p. 116 &c.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>72/1. comaundementes Sh.<br/>— 4. the mortel A, al mortel Sh.<br/>— 5. the <i>om.</i> A, Sh., citheres sone<br/>oonly Sh.<br/>— 6. alle A Sh.<br/>— 7. gretyng hertly Sh., gretynges<br/>senden A.<br/>73/8. wole A, wol Sh.<br/>— 9. and A, of Sh.<br/>— 10. esowe Sh.<br/>— 11. Swich A, . . . of F, as Sh.<br/>— 12. doon A, which doone Sh.<br/>— 14. this F, hir A, þe Sh.<br/>— 15. And passyng' A, . . . on) F,<br/>vpon Sh., . . . the litel F,<br/>this A.<br/>— 18. can . . . dissimulen A.<br/>— 19. on F, in A, Sh.; her F, þeyre<br/>Sh.<br/>— 20. herte A, feelen Sh.<br/>— 23. and with A, a chere Sh.<br/>— 24. trewely A, truwly Sh.<br/>— 25. in hert that they Sh.; han<br/>swich A.<br/>— 26. seyne Sh.<br/>— 27. list Sh.<br/>— 28. most Sh.<br/>— 29. seyn A, seyne Sh.<br/>— 30. as doth F, Shewen A.<br/>— 31. Whyles . . . lasten A; last<br/>. . . or Sh.<br/>— 32. and . . . ech F, in euery A.<br/>— 33. al F, yche A.<br/>74/34. ryght as F, As þat A Sh.;<br/>lyste F, lykith A.<br/>— 35. moot myn herte A; . . .<br/>herte I prey Sh.<br/>— 38. worde may non A; non astert<br/>F, ther noon sterte A.</p> | <p>74/39. reson) . . . to F, sholde any<br/>wight by resun A, reson<br/>any wight sholde Sh.<br/>— 43. moveth . . . F, women<br/>meeued of A Sh.<br/>— 44. as þat tho A.<br/>— 45. they graunte F, graunten A,<br/>Sh.<br/>— 46. that . . . nat F, they nat<br/>shulden A, that þey shulde<br/>nat Sh.<br/>— 48. of F, In Sh.; they A, ye F.<br/>— 49. thus A, Sh., and thus F;<br/>while þees Sh.<br/>— 50. this F, the A Sh.; pot A<br/>penne F; þus hæþe þe<br/>potte by stele Sh.<br/>— 51. is in his F, of hire hath A.<br/>— 52. kepeth . . . more F, he<br/>keepith nat A, with her ne<br/>kepeþe he more Sh.<br/>— 53. after, <i>om.</i> Sh.; fynden A,<br/>f. owher Sh.<br/>— 55. bestowe so Sh.<br/>— 56. þees men for alle þeyre oopes<br/>beon harde to leede Sh.<br/>75/59. this woman this traytoure<br/>Sh., this tr. the w. A.<br/>— 60. faste . . . F, fast him spedeth<br/>F, spedeth him fast Sh.<br/>— 61. on a lowe F A, ouer throwe<br/>Sh.<br/>— 62. ne A Sh.<br/>— 63. telleth him Sh.<br/>— 65. to accuse A.<br/>— 66. to . . . selfe F, confesse him<br/>A; Nowe is þis witte /<br/>confesse himself thraytoure<br/>Sh.</p> |
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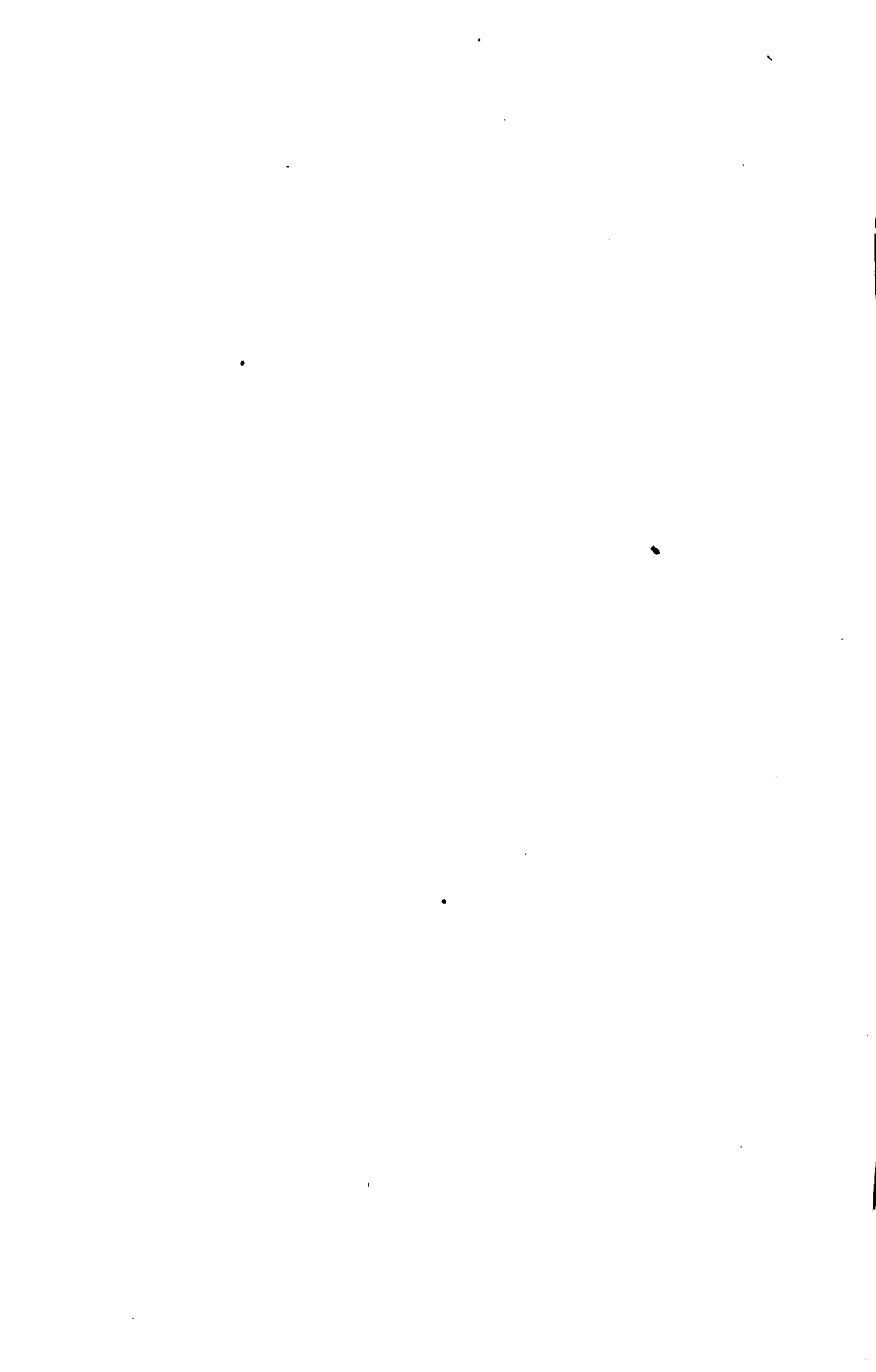
- 75/67. a A.  
 — 68. tellen how hir body he Sh.; do F, doon A.  
 — 69. he . . . him F, to him thus loo Sh.  
 — 70. grete esclaundre F Sh., ful greet reпреef A; vnto F, boope to Sh.  
 — 71. name yet F, nay / yit A.  
 — 72. vertu F, pitee . . . it A, goode . . . it Sh.  
 — 74. inwards Sh.  
 — 75. sclaudre F, shame A.  
 — 76. thanke A, hye thank Sh.  
 — 77. whiche . . . helpen Sh.  
 — 78. þat men by sl. A Sh.  
 — 79. Innocent F, ignorant A.  
 — 80. ys . . . sith F A, sith ys Sh.  
 — 81. as þat A.  
 — 82. om. the Sh.  
 76/83. al A Sh.  
 — 85. Betrayen A Sh.  
 — „ Citees F A, Resumes Sh.  
 — 86. is yt . . . shape F, is . . . shape a A Sh.  
 — 87. Ageynes false & hid A, A, falsely hidde Sh.  
 — 88. suche F, tho A; craftes F A, castes Sh.  
 — 89. wytte . . . redy F, wil ay reedy is A Sh.  
 — 90. thinges that sounep̄e Sh.; hy A, hye Sh.  
 — 91. beth F, be A.  
 — 92. these F, the A.  
 — 93. as A Sh.  
 — 94. they A, þey Sh.  
 — 96. om. to A.  
 — 97. guerdoneth he F, him qwytith A.  
 — 98. lytell wote F, Smal witen A, l. knowe Sh.  
 — 99. To his felaw an othir wreche A.  
 — 100. the hath F, hath thee A.  
 — 102. desyrid A.  
 — 106. ride F, ride on Sh.  
 — 107. whilest Sh.; for, om. A.  
 77/108. wol F, can A; with-sey F, sey ney Sh.  
 — 109. smertly F, qwikly A; snak' A.  
 — 110. thus these F, so the A.
- 77/111. so . . . mot F, þat . . . oft gyled shal Sh.  
 — 112. ay . . . F, For . . . nouel- lerye Sh.  
 — 114. self / hyre F, self / here A.  
 — 115. Reпреef of her he spekth A.  
 — 117. dyuers F, sundry A; oft inaken Sh.  
 — 120. Ful . . . wolde F, For . . . wolde eke Sh.  
 — 121. spent his tyme A.  
 — 123. hyr pleynly F, his lady A.  
 — 124. and F, or Sh.; had A.  
 — 127. For eury Sh.  
 — 129. leiser han A Sh.  
 78/131. onmaddynghe . . . broght A.  
 — 132. he shoulde Sh.  
 — 133. which wymmen loven Sh.  
 — 134. To F, And Sh.  
 — 135. too F, To A.  
 — 136. and in F, For þe Sh.  
 — 138. yf that F, And if Sh.  
 — 139. Al moot he flee þat is to it A.  
 — 140. his grete F, ther-to A, mans g. Sh.  
 — 141. A foul vice A, Right foule it Sh.  
 — 143. men F, man A Sh.  
 — 147. these . . . in F, the . . . at A; beth F, been Sh.  
 — 148. man . . . a woman Sh.  
 — 151. and F, al Sh.  
 — 153. and ful F, al ful Sh.  
 — 154. that . . . al F, swiche alle A.  
 79/156. al . . . were F, alle was A.  
 — 158. al men woot F, men wel knownen A.  
 — 159. that F, wheche Sh.  
 — 161. he that . . . is F, which . . . is moche Sh.  
 — 163. yit of hem were goode Sh.  
 — 164. fynden A; happen men to fynde Sh.  
 — 165. good is for teschuwe Sh.  
 — 166. deeme . . . alle A, deme it . . . al Sh.  
 — 167. se . . . falsenesse A, se it . . . f. Sh.  
 — 168. trusten F A, trust þe Sh.  
 — 170. hir F, hem Sh.  
 — 171. þe w. hir shap be thikke or ellys Sh.  
 — 172. good or badde Sh.

- 79/173. euery m. w. F, For ych wight Sh.  
 — 175. ys yt F, hape he Sh. ; shame . . . speke F, shame / speke of hir A.  
 — 176. forth F, out Sh.  
 — 179. be . . . F, by M. vnto the bee Sh.  
 — 180. thou . . . F, man shal honour pee Sh.  
 80/181. hir nat F, nat hire A ; And d. t. h. in Sh.  
 — 182. by F, thurgh A.  
 — 183. ys seyde in oure e. Sh.  
 — 184. foule F A, beast Sh.  
 — 185. that he F, so it A.  
 — 186. vseth F, wont is A.  
 — 187. wel . . . F, of women wel A.  
 — 188. to displeen F, for to despise A Sh ; ne F A, and Sh.  
 — 189. they wol F Sh., hem list A.  
 — 190. These, *om.* A.  
 — 191. bokes of hir F, makynges of Sh.  
 — 192. dispisen t. w. F, they lakken womenes A.  
 — 194. hem yeue A, gyf hem Sh.  
 — 196. belowen A.  
 — 197. Tho F, peire Sh. ; sory F, wikkid A.  
 — 200. may F, koude Sh.  
 — 201. done . . . F, edoo and yet Sh.  
 — 202. the . . . not F, who may hire by malice A ; hir F, peyre Sh.  
 — 203. as that theys F, Not the world A, as that the Sh.  
 — 205. reprefe F, villanye Sh.  
 81/208. a F A, as Sh.  
 — 209. or ryme F, ryme A.  
 — 210. he F A, pey Sh.  
 — 211. hir F A, peyre Sh.  
 — 213. to loue hem ever to Sh.  
 — 214. syn F, sithe Sh.  
 — 215. They <sup>libri</sup> A.  
 — 216. and, *om.* A ; suche . . . wrapped F, sweche . . . trapped Sh.  
 — 218. No F, Ye no Sh. ; thyse F, pat the A.  
 — 219. I do F Sh., do we A.  
 81/220. labour and trauaille A.  
 — 221. betwixt vs A.  
 — 222. noon F, nat A, not Sh.  
 — 223. these F, *om.* A ; cruel F, outrageous A.  
 — 225. my F, our A.  
 — 226. tyted F, Tyd A.  
 — 228. ys F, nis Sh.  
 — 229. they F, *om.* Sh.  
 — 231. me . . . my F, vs . . . our, A.  
 82/233. myn F, oure A.  
 — 234. I F, We A.  
 — 243. poughe that no w. bee ewhette Sh.  
 — 244. persyng . . . how F, strokes how sore A.  
 — 245. kerve F, breast Sh.  
 — 248. as it is knowen wyde Sh.  
 — 249. man F, men Sh.  
 — 251. koude F, come Sh.  
 — 256. they F, in herte they A.  
 — 257. this F, tho A, so thees, Sh.  
 83/258. oon v. and oper they were, Sh.  
 — 259. thise F, the A ; often F, wel oft Sh.  
 — 260. thise F. *om.* A.  
 — 261. weren nat they / A.  
 — 262. as weren F, that wern A.  
 — 263. this F, thees Sh.  
 — 266. worshippe F, honour A.  
 — 267. thise F, tho' A.  
 — 272. For v. o. he can abyde Sh.  
 — 273. a wight F, oon for A, folkes for Sh.  
 — 274. this F, the A.  
 — 276. wonne F A, conquered Sh.  
 — 278. refreyne F, restreyne A.  
 — 282. occupacion F, opynyoun Sh.  
 84/285. Aparaylles for to tellen vp Sh.  
 — 286. longe F, large Sh.  
 — 288. I . . . my F, we . . . our A, ,, Nough . . . ne in . . . com- prende Sh.  
 — 291. shall soo, Sh.  
 — 295. moot yt, Sh.  
 — 297. for to . . . whateuer Sh.  
 — 299. thise F, tho A ; feyne F A, seyne Sh.  
 — 304. quyt be hir F, pane q. his Sh.  
 — 306. this man F, pees men Sh.

- 84/307. hir . . . his F, hem . . .  
payre Sh.  
— 308. gat him . . . name F, grete  
. . . fame Sh.  
85/310. wrechch F Sh., man A.  
— 311. Vnto Dido whiche Sh.  
— 312. smertys F, greeues A.  
— 313. han doon F, do A.  
— 315. therof F, of it A.  
— 316. my . . . may F, our . . . may  
men A, þe . . . may men Sh.  
— 318. no . . . F, noon / ne byheste  
may men, A.  
— 319. repreuable F, reproof ne  
of A.  
— 320. In herte of man / conceites  
trewe arn dede A.  
,, hath F, hath nowe Sh.  
— 321. noght F, naght A, barreine  
Sh.  
,, trouthe F A, feyth Sh.  
— 322. namely yt is F, / is hir vice  
A.  
,, nat . . . F, ful wel knowe,  
Sh.  
— 324. a womans F, wommannes  
A, þees wyynnens Sh.  
— 327. No fors . . . no F, Yee /  
strab . . . noon A; no F,  
lytel Sh.  
— 328. kepe wel . . . what so Sh.  
— 331. dystroyen no F, ne d. Sh.  
86/335. Folke enpoysonne / or h. A.  
— 339. To t. A, To al thewes, Sh.  
— 341. wel . . . a F, so wel kan þe,  
Sh.  
— 342. softe A, soft Sh.  
— 343. be . . . F, been . . . þe  
sygne Sh.  
— 344. Wommannes h. to A.  
— 347. ful amyable Sh.  
— 349. hath not thise Sh.  
— 350. Ne . . . nat I, Folwyth  
nothing A.  
— 351. firste A; natheles F A,  
neuer þe leese Sh.  
— 352. lese his F, to lese hir Sh.  
— 354. heestes F A, heest þoo Sh.  
— 355. tasten of a F, to ete of the  
A, to tasten of þe Sh.  
— 356. ne F, nat A.  
— 357. deuel . . . ne F, feend been  
/ no more she A, feende  
ebee n. she Sh.
- 87/358. penvyous Sh.  
— 360. for to F, to A.  
— 361. Eve to deceyve Sh.  
— 363. noght F, nat A, nade Sh.  
— 365. I sey F, we seyn A; goode  
Sh.  
— 366. ne F A, she Sh.  
— 367. may F, cane Sh.  
— 368. þat she F, she þee Sh.  
— 369. er F, or A.  
— 371. calle . . . no F, may not  
calle yt Sh.  
— 372. yt F, yt first Sh.  
— 374. to demen F, for to deeme A.  
— 375. she F A, Eve Sh.; this  
harme F Sh., þat gilt A.  
— 377. hir F, Eves Sh.  
— 379. Touchyng which / A.  
— 380. I F, We A.  
— 381. that . . . now F, men mowe  
A, that men now may Sh.  
— 383. This haue A; I F, We A.  
88/385. hir hold F, hir holde, A,  
holde Eve Sh.  
— 391. feende F A, worme Sh.  
— 393. this F, þat A Sh.  
— 395. slehythes F, sleightes A.  
— 396. of F A, hool of Sh.  
— 397. from the F, from A Sh.  
— 399. him . . . of F A, man . . .  
frome Sh.  
— 400. to F Sh., fro A.  
— 404. that she F A, she cleen Sh.  
— 406. hir . . . bore F, hire be  
borne A, hir hir be borne  
Sh.  
— 408. leene F Sh., weyke A.  
89/410. preysing F, laude A.  
— 411. I sey, F Sh., We Witen A.  
— 412. men F, man A Sh.  
— 415. that F Sh., it A.  
— 416. now . . . good F, it is to  
taken A.  
— 418. honureth F A, worshipeþe  
Sh.  
— 419. al F, alle A Sh.  
— 420. and . . . a F, For . . . oft  
Sh.  
— 421. O F Sh. om. A.  
— 422. blood F A, blood heere Sh.  
— 423. I F, We A.  
— 424. thou F Sh., O A.  
— 425. Ouercam A, In ouerkomyng  
Sh.

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| <p>89/427. Vn-to the feith of God /<br/>holy virgyne A; of God<br/>A, þou goode Sh.<br/>— 428. I F, We A, þat I Sh.<br/>— 429. by F, Oonly by Sh.<br/>— 430. neuer in my F, nat in one<br/>A, not in my Sh.<br/>— 431. euer werre y F, ay We wer-<br/>rey A, euer I werre Sh.<br/>— 432. lo . . . me F, leueth wel<br/>ye A.<br/>— 434. remembrance We nat may<br/>A.<br/>90/437. maketh F A, made Sh.<br/>— 440. pardee as w. Sh.<br/>— 442. Womman F A, Wymmen<br/>Sh.<br/>— 444. for . . . F, holy wryt thus<br/>Sh.; seyeth F, seith A.<br/>— 445. shal . . . yt shoule so f. Sh.<br/>— 446. I . . . F Sh, it may preeued<br/>be ther-by A.<br/>— 447. stable F, al the A.<br/>— 448. the F, al A, <i>om.</i> Sh.</p> | <p>90/451. tolde F Sh., is nat told A.<br/>— 452. or F, ne Sh.<br/>— 455. hir F, þeyre Sh.<br/>— 457. digne . . . noble F Sh., noble<br/>is / and worthy A; in<br/>F A, of Sh.<br/>— 458-60. he F Sh., she A.<br/>91/461. vertu A.<br/>— 463. wol . . . c. F, thus we wolen<br/>conclude A; we F A,<br/>yee Sh.<br/>— 464. yow F A, wol Sh.<br/>— 466. thise F, tho A.<br/>— 467. punissement A.<br/>— 469. in F, ynne A; more F, <i>om.</i><br/>A; come more F, retourne<br/>Sh.<br/>— 471. that Sh.<br/>— 472. the ayer F, their A, þeyre<br/>Sh.<br/>— 473. Million F A, legyoun Sh.<br/>— 476. and . . . and F A, foure h.<br/>yeres and Sh.</p> |
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## III.

## JERESLAUS'S WIFE, p. 140-178.

Some Various Readings from MS. Reg. 17 D 6, leaf 99 &amp;c.

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| <p>140/1. actes D, Ieestes R.<br/> — 2. Whilom D, Somtyme R.<br/> — 3. Iereslaus D, Gerelaus R.<br/> — 6. Vngarie D, Hungerye R.<br/> — 15. fourth wole I D, wole I forth R.<br/> — 16. bed D, bedde R.<br/> — 17. gan in him D, in hym gan R.<br/> — 19. left R.<br/> — 24. hyde fro thee D, from the hide R.<br/> — 25. Ne nat D, Nor not R.<br/> 141/27. for thy D, therefore R.<br/> — 32-3. al . . . smal D, att, smatt R.<br/> — 39. longe to D, long to. I R.<br/> — 40. abood D, abode R.<br/> — 44. syn D, sithen R.<br/> — 53. hire D, to hir R.<br/> — 54. kiste . . . farewel D, left . . . now farewele R.<br/> — 55. nat dreedith D, drede not R.<br/> 142/57. and D, the R.<br/> — 59. the boke kan not R.<br/> — 61. kepe R, kepte D; R om. out.<br/> 143/86. pat D, no R.<br/> — 88. R alters this line and puts it for 91.<br/> — 95. Truste wele it. none other it R.<br/> — 97. hir, whan he fonde R.<br/> — 99. sy D, sawe R.<br/> — 100. Nat . . . stynte D, And that he ne stynte wold R.<br/> — 102. thempire D, the Empire R.<br/> — 108. thempire D, this Empire R.</p> | <p>143/109-10. al . . . shal D, att . . . shaft R.<br/> — 111. vnhad . . . bad D, not hadde . . . badde R.<br/> 144/122. it . . . is D, it is wele knowen R.<br/> — 125. vs warante and avowe R.<br/> — 127. doutith D, dredeth R.<br/> — 131. anoon areest D, areste anone R.<br/> — 136. Then thought he thus R.<br/> 145/139. vtirly shaft I R.<br/> — 144. hye R, hy D.<br/> — 154. &amp; D, &amp; my R.<br/> — 156. of . . . deeth D, on myscheuous deth to R.<br/> — 163. yf that I wish R.<br/> 146/172. often it happeth. that womans R.<br/> — 175. did grete harm R.<br/> — 180. now D, goode R.<br/> — 181. ryde fourth D, now rideth R.<br/> — 187. sue D, folwe R.<br/> — 194. shoop D, shope R.<br/> 147/199. ago . . . syn D, ferne agone . . . sithen R.<br/> — 203. be doon D, I do R.<br/> — 212. But my lords the Emperour R.<br/> — 224. help at al D, other helpe R.<br/> 148/225. manaces D, manace ne R.<br/> — 226. Koth she. of the R.<br/> — 229. pat this for D, this for an R.<br/> — 232. left al D, withouten more R.<br/> — 240. blusted D, blasted R.</p> |
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- 148/245. amen R, D. *om.*  
 — 246. false D, thou fals R.  
 — 248. willy to D, willyng to do R.  
 — 250. the D, and worthy R.  
 — 251. O foule enemye R.  
 149/258. bettidde Reg., betid D.  
 — 259. kidde Reg., hid D.  
 — 263. I . . . and þat with bold D.  
     I wote wele with bolde  
     R.  
 — 265. go D, ayein go Reg.  
 — 266. forth tell D, telle forth R.  
 — 267. þat . . . had D, she so hade  
     R.  
 — 269. Erl D, Erle R.  
 — 271. blyue D, fuit bliue R.  
 — 279. the D, this R.  
 — 280. quod D, koth R.  
 150/281. ferre R, fer D.  
 — 297. þat thee list D, the luste to  
     R.  
 — 307. the D, this R.  
 — 308. hire aftir D, after. hir R.  
 151/310. lay therl D, as lay the  
     Erle R.  
 — 313. was . . . This D, Was this  
     R.  
 — 315. good . . . reft D, goode . . .  
     bereft R.  
 — 320. herte D, hert to R.  
 — 322. holde D, holden R.  
 — 324. shal D, may R.  
 — 325-6. wilt D, wolt R.  
 — 328. sy D, sawe R.  
 — 330. fro . . . fourth D, bisily R.  
 152/338. bed . . . þat D, bedde .  
     where as R.  
 — 340. purposid D, purpos and R.  
 — 361. him D, he hym R.  
 153/366. þat D, that. that R.  
 — 370. bed D, bedde R.  
 — 371. bybled D, forbledde R.  
 — 381. now no lenger R.  
 — 383. flayn D, slayn (so in 380) R.  
 — 392. that it not so were R.  
 154/394. In the D, In aft the R.  
 — 396. namely / & D, and namely  
     R.  
 — 403. He to hir spak R.  
 — 409. he deceyued D, deceyued  
     he R.  
 — 413. qwit hast D, hast quytte R.  
 — 414. walke forth R.  
 — 422. for shee had seide R.  
 155/430. broke R.  
 — 442. saue D, to saue R.  
 156/455. foot D, fete R. [leaf 107]  
 — 457. Whidir D, Wherto R.  
 — 460. longe his lady fro R.  
 — 461. agayn D, ayenst R.  
 — 466. how D, that R.  
 — 467. shap . . . eek D, and shap .  
     and R.  
 157/475. & D, nor R.  
 — 477. fer D, ferre R.  
 — 480. of . . . ne D, or . . . or R.  
 — 485. can D, kun R.  
 — 490. her . . . thogh D, is her  
     nature and yit R.  
 — 494. change wole. lest it myght  
     hurt R.  
 — 499. this D, that R.  
 158/509. ga D, go R.  
 — 510. Vnto my ladyes In. for she  
     R.  
 — 521. heere y D, I here R.  
 — 526. he seide D, koth he R.  
 159/535. wilt so D, wolt now R.  
 — 544. in no weertee R.  
 — 558. to thyn owne D, vnto thy R.  
 160/569. Take goode heede therof  
     R.  
 — 570. thow D, right R.  
 — 571. be than goode. hens forto R.  
 — 572. Elles aft thy labour may  
     the R.  
 — 573. For I wole lede. hir home R.  
 — 579. Thow hast hade or this R.  
 — 583. yeue D, and yeve me R.  
 — 586. had . . . deuel D, hade . . .  
     fend R.  
 161/590. clothes . . . his D, his  
     clothes out of the R.  
 — 591. to bye D, forto bey R.  
 — 597. Syn þat D, Sithen R.  
 — 609. this best is D, this is best R.  
 — 616. hire he to the ship D, he to  
     the shipman hir R.  
 162/626. maad . . . I D, haue I  
     made R.  
 — 627. That there shaft neuer man.  
     so R.  
 — 628. thyng . . . outake D, no  
     thyng . . . saue R.  
 — 632. wel D, this R.  
 — 634. middes D, the myddes R.  
 — 643. the D, your R.  
 163/656. and gan anone R.

- 163/657. she D, and R.  
 — 658. Made she. as I shaft to you  
 reherce R.  
 — 664. deitee D, dignitee R.  
 164/675. fil D, shope R.  
 — 683. Where. the ladyes R.  
 — 689. yaf . . . a D, shope and yafe  
 suche R.  
 165/703. told haue D, haue tolde R.  
 — 712. roop D, rope R.  
 — 713. Potagre D, Potakir R.  
 — 725. qwyte . . . D, wole you  
 quyte R.  
 — 726. swich D, suche R.  
 — 728. ye shaft it bey fufft soure.  
 166/732. herd D, herd R.  
 — 735. hele wel D, wetf hele R.  
 — 741. they . . . D, and they haste  
 R.  
 — 746. deuoutly D, deuoutely R.  
 167/757. The Abbesse hir made.  
 approche his hye pre-  
 sence R.  
 — 758. hid D, couered R.  
 — 767. about D, aboute R (therē).  
 — 771. That was the knyght. the  
 theef. and the shipman  
 R.  
 — 777. dirke D, grete R.  
 — 782. Be cured. tett on R.  
 — 784. is . . . D, it is. to perseuere.  
 168/785. For the fourme R.  
 — 795. hool D, hole R.  
 — 798. Telle out D, Sey on R.  
 — 803. I . . . D, mercy I you R.  
 — 807. he thoughte D, thought he R.  
 — 811. þat D, euer R.  
 169/813. And how he . . . hade be-  
 traide R.  
 — 817. been vnpayed D, be delaide  
 R.  
 — 831. him wolde D, it wold him R.  
 — 832. mis D, lakke R.  
 170/841. purpos D, tale R.  
 — 842. thow dem. D, and demony-  
 ake R.  
 — 847. han . . . D, the grounde  
 haue R.  
 — 848. sharp D, sharpe R.  
 — 852. confesse D, to confesse R.  
 — 863. And betooke hir. the charge  
 and the cure R.  
 — 864. a D, his R.  
 — 866. there a mis D, a wikked R.  
 171/872. euere D, ay R.  
 — 873. vnto . . . D, to my luste nor  
 R.  
 — 878. the D, this R.  
 — 881. And thynke. that no wight  
 elles R.  
 — 882. this D, that R.  
 — 889. Whan that I for my gilte R.  
 — 893. of D, for R.  
 — 895. where I dede shuld haue  
 be R.  
 — 896. lyf D, gilt R.  
 172/897. as D, was R.  
 — 898. hy D, hir R.  
 — 900. Betraide I hir R.  
 — 901. him . . . D, Shope hym . . .  
 delavee R.  
 — 902. fer D, forthe R.  
 — 904. a . . . I D, a faire gentiff  
 lady I R.  
 — 906. haue hire D, hir haue R.  
 — 912. haf . . . claf D, hafe . . .  
 clafe R.  
 — 923. On . . . seide D, On curteys  
 height. right R.  
 173/925. haue of me D, taken R.  
 — 927. seeknesse . . . his D, desese  
 . . . her R.  
 — 939. wrecche D, man R.  
 — 941. kus D, cosse R.  
 — 946. Inow thus D, is at an R.  
 — 947. vnto his Paleys D, to his  
 paleys goth R.  
 — 948. good. lady the Emperice.  
 with hym gan wende R.  
 — 949. lyueden D, ledde her lyfe R.  
 — 950. his D, the R.  
 — 952. list D, wole R.  
 MS. Reg. 17 D vi. leaves out page  
 174.  
 175/16. the ruther D, the r. and the  
 sonner R.  
 — 17. scripture D, writte R.  
 — 22. & makynge D, þat maken R.  
 — 27. whereof D, wherfore R.  
 176/14. hukyng D, Wirkyng R.  
 — 30. soule wole D, soules wolen R.  
 177/4. vp so doun D, bakward R.  
 — 26. the feend D, þis world R.  
 — 34. torned D, turneth R.  
 178/2. infest D, effect R.  
 178. R. has in margin 'Discipulus.  
 Cum omnes homines n.  
 s. d. . .'

178/15. so D, to R.	179/41. me D, me so R.
179/23. lerne to dye R.	— 45. ay. wote he fuit wett R.
— 33. But telle me this. herof wold I lere R.	180/54. hire D, hym R.
— 34. R adds to Latin 'moriendi cum mors mon habitus set priuacio esse nos- catur.'	— 57. many oon D, hym R.
— 38. swetnesse D, richesse R.	— 72. led away D, away haue ledde R.
	— 74. vnto . . holde D, to that lord yhold R.

(Collation incomplete.)

## GLOSSARY.

By MR. THOMAS AUSTIN.

- Aart, *sb.* art, 13/150, 26/32.  
 Abiect, *pp.* cast off, 222/199.  
 Abstinence, *sb.* putte in a., forbear from, 154/406  
 Acat, *acate*, *sb.* purchase, 31/181, 70/100.  
 Accomplice, *vb. t.* accomplish, 152/341.  
 Adawid, *pp.* adawed, awakened, 153/369.  
 Afese, *vb. t.* scare, 233/482.  
 Afesid, *pp.* scared, 229/379.  
 Affoorthie, *vb. t.* bestow, 217/46.  
 Ageyn, *prep.* before, in presence of, 166/745.  
 Aght, aught, 22/440, 82/252.  
 Agilt, *vb. int.* sin, 69/64, a-gylte, 108/366; *v. t.* sin against, 17/270, 168/304.  
 Agrysid, *pp.* terrified, 196/476.  
 Alleggen, *vb. t.* alleviate, 6/198.  
 All halwen day, *sb.* All Souls' Day (Nov. 1), 212/926.  
 Almesse, *sb.* alms, 194/424.  
 Amonestyng, *sb.* warning, 208/820.  
 Apalle, *vb. int.* slacken, 98/74.  
 Appert, *adj.* apert, open, 33/270.  
 Arettist, *vb. t.* imputest, layest, 12/113.  
 Arghnesse, *sb.* timidity, reluctance, 38/435.  
 Arte, *vb.* compel, constrain, 37/396, 62/8.  
 Aspen, *adj.* trembling, 63/17.  
 Asseeth, *sb.* expiation, penance, 196/482.  
 Assoill, *vb. t.* grant, 222/182.  
 Atake, *vb.* overtake, 148/239.  
 Attame, *vb. t.* atame, subdue, 10/45.  
 Attä = at the, 195/460, 196/486.
- Attempree, *adj.* temperate, 40/13.  
 Auriculeer, *adj.* auricular, 11/81.  
 Aweertee, *sb.* cautiousness, O. Fr. *averti*, 159/544.  
 Baar, *vb. t.* bare, 8/241.  
 Bake, *sb.* back, 29/127.  
 Bapteeme, *sb.* baptism, 9/38.  
 Bayte, *vb. t.* refresh, 15/206.  
 Beer, *vb. t.* bare, *imp. tense*, 1/44.  
 Begilt, *pp.* ? deluded, 192/372.  
 Begone, *pp.* well b., prosperous, 95/11; wers begoon, worse beset, 231/445; comp. woe-begone.  
 Bete, *vb. t.* beat; 'bete this pavyment' (pavement), 102/186. Compare Fr. *battre le pavé*.  
 Bille, *sb.* bill of a bird, 44/42.  
 Bit, *vb.*, bad, 34/280, 229/376.  
 Blent, *pp.* blinded, 225/280.  
 Blyue, *adv.* quickly, 4/125, 34/280.  
 Bobance, *sb.* boasting, 190/321.  
 Bolne, *vb. int.* swell, rise, 172/913.  
 Bolnyng, *pp.* bolning, swelling, 10/49.  
 Boncheef, *sb.* good fortune, prosperity, 221/172.  
 Bote, *sb.* cure, 97/49.  
 Brede, *sb.* in b., abroad, 10/70.  
 Breeth, *sb.* breath, 2/80.  
 Breid, *sb.* braid, attack, 182/115.  
 Brid, *sb.* bird, 80/184.  
 Brigge, *sb.* bridge, boat-stairs, 31/194: cp. 'y<sup>e</sup> Quenes bredge' and 'Preuy bredge' at Westminster, in Braun and Hogenberg's map of 1572.  
 Broke, *sb.* brook, 100/152.  
 Brydillees, *adj.* bridleless, 27/78.  
 Brygelees, *adj.* brigueless, without dispute, 13/164.

- Bukkyshe, *adj.* flighty, skittish, unsettled, 99/123.  
 B. t. *conj.* unless, 27/57, 190/326.  
 Bybled, *pp.* bebled, bloody, 7/230.  
 Bye, *vb. t.* aby, pay for, suffer for, 165/728.  
 Byheete, *vb. int.* promise, 226/302. 238, 625.  
 Bykneew, *vb. t.* confessed, 238/634.  
 Bymeneth, *vb. t.* bemoan, bewail, *imper.* 7/231.  
 Bynome, *pp.* of *benim*, taken away from, 6/189.  
 Bytake, *vb. t.* hand over, 156/452.  
  
 Calate, *sb. f.* drab, quean, 13/147.  
 Cape, *vb. int.* gape, A., 191/350.  
 Careyne, *sb.* carcass, O. Fr. *caroine*, 189/306.  
 Cast, *sb.* intention, 191/348.  
 Cheerte, *chiertee*, *sb.* affection, 22/433, 40/21, 137/777, 205/710, 219/87; comfort, 48/32.  
 Chek, *sb.* check, at chess, 184/161.  
 Chepe, *vb. t.* buy, 216/13.  
 Cheuce, *vb.* provide, provide for, 28/101, 34/285.  
 Cheuisse, *sb.*, achievement, *comp. vb.* *cheuis*, Cursor M. l. 8329, 132/621.  
 Chinchy, *adj.* niggard, 29/136.  
 Chydly, *adj.* childly, childish, 27/64.  
 Citein, *sb.* citizen; *comp. Fr.* *citoyen*, 202/627.  
 Clappe, *vb.* chatter, 21/396, 37/394, 40/37, 127/489.  
 Clee, *sb.* claw, 191/345.  
 Clight, *pp.* clenched, 182/124.  
 Cloudeful, *adj.* cloudy, dark, black, 55/109.  
 Cokir, *sb.* high-low, 190/312.  
 Combrowlides, *sb.* cumberworlds, uselesse mortals, 32/225.  
 Compleyne, *vb. t.* complain of, blame, Fr. *se plaindre*, 36/342, 57/17.  
 Conceitless, *adj.* ignorant, 232/458.  
 Compaignie, *sb.* company, attendants, companionship, 149/260, 151/329, 164/683.  
 Compassid, *vb.* compassed, devised, 151/330.  
 Conpel, *vb. t.* compel, 26/30.  
 Corpleyne, pity, Fr. *plaindre*, 36/341.  
 Conpunct, *pp.* touched with conpunction, 199/562.  
 Constiance, *sb.* constancy, Fr. *constance*, 157/488.  
 Cotidian, *adj.* quotidian, daily, Lat. *quotidianus*, 26/25.  
 Couyne, *sb.* scoundrelism, 9/21. 'Il en spait bien toute la courvine. Hee is well acquainted with thine packing; he knows fu'l well how the matter hath beene carried.' 1611. Cotgrave.  
 Cristientee, *sb.* Christendom, O. Fr. *crestienté*, 156/453.  
 Crois, *sb.* cross, Fr. *croiz*, 5/149.  
 Cure, *sb.* care, heed, 81/219.  
  
 Daswed, *pp.* dazed, 57/9.  
 Deceyuable, *adj.* deceitful, 237/590.  
 Deeth, *sb.* death, 5/162.  
 Delauee, *adj.* O. Fr. *delaucé*; washed away (Cotgrave), loose, lawless, 172/901.  
 Deliure, *vb. t.* deliver, 154/412, 161/590.  
 Demoniak, *sb.* one possessed with a devil, 170/843.  
 Deprauē, *vb. t.* speak ill of, scandal, slander, 30/171.  
 Dere, *vb. t.* hurt, harm, 107/348.  
 Dereworthe, *adj.* precious, 195/448, 197/498.  
 Deskeuere, *vb.* discover, let out, 150/283.  
 Despende, *vb. t.* dispend, expend, spend, 8/244, 38/415, 187/239.  
 Despense, *sb.* dispense, laying out, liberality, 36/342.  
 Desteyned, *pp.* sullied, 36/340.  
 Dever, *sb.* devoir, duty, 158/531.  
 Dewyngē, *sb.* dewing, moistening, 5/158.  
 Deynouse, *adj.* proud, 78/150.  
 Diadeeme, *sb.* diadem, 15/232.  
 Do forth, keep on, 41/15.  
 Doel, *sb.* dole, pity, O. Fr. *doel*, Fr. *déuil*, 5/153.  
 Doghtir, *sb.* daughter, 150/296, 152/339.  
 Dokke, *vb. t.* cut off, kill, 159/541.  
 Dotepol, *sb.* dodipoll, fool, 217/49.

- Doubleness, *sb.* deception, 73/21, 237/590.  
 Dreche, *vb.* vex, 106/308.  
 Dress, *dresse*, *vb.* t. direct, bend, 160/588, 164/691, 210/856.  
 Drye, *vb.* t. suffer, 196/474.  
 Doumb, *adj.* Prov:—'the doumb man, no lond getith,' i. e. one must speak, if one wants anything, 38/433.  
 Dyuyse, *vb.* devise, 24/511.  
 Eerly, *adv.* early, 31/180, 62/21.  
 Eerthe, *sb.* earth, 3/106, 5/148, 22/428.  
 Eerthely, *adj.* earthly, 17/292, 297, 200/586.  
 Egal, *adj.* equal, Fr. *egal*, 5/168; *egall*, 115/156.  
 Eilid, *vb.* ailed, 9/25.  
 Enable, *vb.* t. make fit for, 17/272.  
 Enchantour, *sb.* enchanter, deceiver, 32/225.  
 Inchesoun, *sb.* cause, reason, O. Fr. *encheson*, 48/18, 54/61, 89/429.  
 Enhabit, *vb.* t. set as inhabitant, 17/280.  
 Ensaauple, *vb.* t. give example to, 66/64, 131/604.  
 Ensele, *vb.* t. enseal, seal, 234/516.  
 Entaille, *sb.* entail, intaglio, 21/410.  
 Entailid, *pp.* unalterably attached, 157/488.  
 Enteer, *adj.* entire, 50/29.  
 Eschu, *adj.* shy, O. Fr. *eschin*, 21/403.  
 Eschue, *vb.* t. avoid, O. Fr. *eschever*, 6/193, 14/192, 32/216.  
 Esmaye, *vb.* t. dismay, 207/774.  
 Estaat, *sb.* estate, 38/430.  
 Estren, *sb.* Easter, 175/25.  
 Euenhede, *sb.* evenness, fairness, 177/3.  
 Exaltat, *pp.* exalted, 237/592.  
 Exaudicioun, *sb.* pardon (i. e. God hearing him), 44/30.  
 Exitynge, *sb.* exciting, urging, 118/234.  
 Fallace, *sb.* outrage, O. Fr. *fallace*, 150/283, 226/298.  
 Fael, *sb.* flattery, O. Fr. *fael*, 31/211, 32/223, 33/244.  
 Fawe, *adj.* fain, 182/124, 235/549.  
 Feendly, *adj.* fiendly, devilish, 149/253, 152/340.  
 Feere, in, in company, together, 229/371.  
 Felawshipe, *sb.* fellowship, company, retinue, 148/239.  
 Feinel, *adj.* female, Fr. *femelle*, 216/13.  
 Ferdful, *adj.* fearful, timid, 45/47.  
 Fern, *adv.* far, long, 31/196, 147/199.  
 Fet, *pp.* fetched, 203/663.  
 Feynter, *sb.* appeaser, stayer, 52/12.  
 Feynyngly, *adv.* feigningly, 191/359.  
 Ficche, *vb.* t. fix, 40/9, 45/72, 53/45.  
 Flaumbes, *sb.* flames, O. Fr. *flambe*, 197/513, 204/699.  
 Foleie, foleye, *vb.* int. act foolishly, be stupid, play the fool, 49/47, 50/46, 163/651.  
 Foltyshe, *adj.* foolish, 104/243, 115/147.  
 Folwe, *vb.* t. follow, 68/23.  
 Foreward, *sb.* bargain, 230/405.  
 Forthynke, *vb.* repent, 239/652.  
 Forthoghte, *vb.* t. repented, 10/59.  
 Forueye, *vb.* int. go out of the path, stray, Fr. *fourvoyer*, 49/44, 69/79.  
 Fourneys, *sb.* furnace, Fr. *fournaise*, 196/493.  
 Foryite, *vb.* t. forget, 134/672.  
 Foysoun, *sb.* foison, abundance, Fr. *foison*, 8/244, 10/71.  
 Francesie, *sb.* frenzy, Fr. *frénésie*, 165/715.  
 Freend, *sb.* friend, 26/46.  
 Fretynge, *adj.* fretting, vexing, 213.  
 Frete, *vb.* int. fret, devour, 239/661.  
 Fructifie, *vb.* int. be fruitful, 178/17.  
 Fructuous, *adj.* fruitful, 57/11.  
 Fyn, *sb.* fine, end, Fr. *fin*, 2/59.  
 Fynt, *vb.* finds, 180/68.  
 Gabbe, *vb.* int. lie, comp. O. Fr. *gaber*, 159/540.  
 Galwe tree, *sb.* g'bbet, 155/436; galwes, 177/7.  
 Gaste, *vb.* t. aghast, frighten, 200/597.  
 Gastful, *adj.* ghastly, dreadful, 203/669, 204/687.  
 Gastness, *sb.* fearful state, 44/27.  
 Genterie, *sb.* gentleness, kindness, courtesy, 164/684.



- Gere, *sb.* gear, 13/159.  
 Girt, *pp.* thurgh *g.*, struck through, 230/388.  
 Gleede, *sb.* glede, glowing coal, 30/159.  
 Gole, *sb.* al thy gole — ? all that is in thy mouth, Fr. *gueule*, 159/545.  
 Goos, *sb.* goose; Prov. 'shoo the goos,' 19/337. *Ferrer les oyes.* To spend both time and labour verie vainly. 1611. Cotgrave.  
 Gouvernail, *sb.* governance, 150/300.  
 Governersse, *sb. f.* governess, 150/298.  
 Graine, *vb. t.* vex, 43/57.  
 Grede, *vb. t.* cry for, 47/109; call, 50/36, 116/173.  
 Gree, *sb.* recompense, O.Fr. *gre*, 204/694.  
 Greeuable, *adj.* grievous, 182/111.  
 Greeues, *sb.* griefs, 3/90.  
 Grownde, *vb. t.* ground, base (as groundwork), 66/46.  
 Grype, *vb. t.* grip, get, 104/265.  
 Gye, *vb. t.* guide, 6/207, 53/49, 155/433.  
 Haan, han, *vb.* have, 3 *sing.* 197/523, 198/524-7.  
 Haast, *vb.* hast, 7/211, 8/7, 192/372.  
 Haaste, *vb. int.* haste, 31/208, 166/741, 190/330.  
 Haf, *vb. int.* heaved, 172/912.  
 Halke, *sb.* recess, 20/382; dirke halke of Helle, 23/478; 100/133.  
 Hals, *sb.* neck, 165/712.  
 Hawe, *sb.* haw, 'not worth an h.' (used like straw), trifle, 37/380, 67/20.  
 Heedlynge, *adv.* headlong, hastily, 133/647.  
 Heeng, *vb. int.* hung, 149/274, 164/696.  
 Heer, *sb.* hair, 170/860.  
 Heetith, *vb. t.* promise, 68/40.  
 Helply, *adj.* helping, 197/508.  
 Hente, *vb. t.* seize, 203/675.  
 Heolly, hoolly, *adv.* wholly, 3/109, 112.  
 Herkne, *vb. t.* hearken to, 179/22.  
 Herne, *sb.* nook, recess, 20/382.  
 Hertly, *adj.* hearty, 72/7.  
 Hidles, *in, secretly, slyly, Fr. en u-pinois, covertly, closely, secretly* (Cotgrave), 202/645.  
 Hokir, *sb.* scorn, 136/741, 189/310. The gloss has app. 'loathsomeness,' in last case.  
 Honure, *vb. t.* honour, 21/412.  
 Housbonde, *vb. t.* husband, 68/24.  
 In, *sb.* house, dwelling, 156/452, 158/513.  
 Incomparably, *adv.* incomparably, 6 syll., 187/257.  
 Inne, *vb. t.* take in, house, 156/459, 469.  
 Inpudence, *sb.* shamelessness, 27/62.  
 Issynge, *sb.* issuing, exit, comp. O.Fr. *isser*, 202/629.  
 Kakele, *vb. int.* cackle, chatter, 13/148.  
 Keepe, *vb. int.*, heed, reck; *weepe*, A.; 185/183.  
 Kerfe, *sb.*, wake of ship, 185/203.  
 Kneew, *vb.* knew, 26/44.  
 Knyf, *sb.* leyd his k., set his knife by me, sat by me, 28/112.  
 Konnynge, *adj.* clever, skilful, 166/732.  
 Kus, *sb.* kiss, 2/75, 30/155, 173/941.  
 Kut, *sb.* luck, lot (bit of cut stick), 138/789: 'the cut fil to the Knight.'—Cant. Tales, Prol. 845.  
 Kytthe, *vb. t.* make known, bestow, show, 4/120, 38/406, 42/42, 81/224.  
 Laach, *adj.*, lax, O. Fr. *lasche*, Fr. *lâche*, 188/267.  
 Labbe, *sb.* blab, blabber, 159/542.  
 Lache, *vb. int.* be lax, or remiss, 191/362.  
 Laddre, *sb.* ladder: charity the ladder to heaven, 8/1.  
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- Leepre, *sb.* leper, 164/698.  
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